

Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees 17 Oct 1939

MEETING OF OFFICERS
of the
INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

Department of State,
Washington, D. C.
October 17, 1939 - 3 p.m.

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PRESENT:

Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State.

The Rt. Hon. The Earl Winterbottom, Paymaster General
in the United Kingdom Government, Chairman;
accompanied by Messrs. Braundell and Alington,
Advisers.

His Excellency Senor Don Felipe A. Espil, Ambassador
of the Argentine Republic.

His Excellency Mr. Carlos Martins, Ambassador of
Brazil.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin, Ambassador
of the French Republic, accompanied by
M. Jacques Dumaine, Adviser.

The Hon. Dr. A. Loudon, Minister of the Netherlands,
accompanied by Mr. A.F.H. Van Troostenburg de
Bruyn, Adviser.

Hon. Myron C. Taylor, Vice-Chairman, Inter-Governmental Committee, representing the United States of America, accompanied by Mr. Robert Pell, Adviser.

Hon. James G. McDonald, Chairman, President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, accompanied by Mr. George L. Warren, Executive Secretary, President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees.

Mr. Stephen Morris, Acting Secretary, Inter-Governmental Committee on Political Refugees.

Hon. Cordell Hull:

Gentlemen: On behalf of this Government I am glad to extend a most hearty welcome to each of you who comprise this organization.

We are particularly appreciative of those who have come some distance under more or less inconvenience to be present on this occasion. It manifests a far-reaching interest which should afford encouragement to all of us who may need encouragement in this connection.

You are engaged in a most righteous undertaking, an undertaking that involves not only the highest and the finest exhibition of humanitarianism and of civilized human effort, but you typify law and order at a time when a vast portion of the world is in a sea of international anarchy, and stand for constructive thought and action when so many destructive forces are abroad.

You assemble in an undertaking that is worthy in the highest sense, and you assemble at a most critical period in the history of our civilized life.

The occasion and the problem recall some of the noble thoughts of the most trying periods in the history of the human race.

It has been said that "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn".

Again, "These are days that try men's souls".

I might repeat many of those soul-stirring statements to which great patriots, great humanitarians, have given spontaneous utterance in the ages that are past.

We do know that at this period there are an increasing number of people who are draining the cup of bitterness and of disappointment to its very dregs. We do know that they are on a level below that of the common animal, which is able to find something on which to subsist, to find some place where it can rest and relax and sleep. We know that these unfortunate people who have been made outcasts are without a country, without a home, without a family, without any means of subsistence. The more we ponder on this ordinarily unthinkable situation and condition of an increasing number of unfortunate human souls, the more we are stirred to the utmost to find ways to solve this problem. We have this condition, we have this staggering problem that is presented, which is a challenge to law and order and decency, as well as a challenge to every humanitarian instinct.

That is why I feel all the greater pride and the greater thanks go out to each of the Governments participating in the Committee which, moved at an early stage, have consecrated time and effort to a suitable approach and an effective solution of the terrific problem.

I know that the thanks of the civilized millions in every part of the world will increase, as understanding

and appreciation of your work is more fully impressed upon them. I know that you will leave nothing undone that it may be possible to do in keeping alive a movement intended to grapple with this ever-increasing problem. I think it would be most unfortunate if future historians should be called upon to say that civilized man confessed his inability to cope with this harrowing problem and let the undertaking die at its most critical period.

I sat down here merely for the purpose of saying welcome and wishing you God-speed. I am sorry that I am not able to sit at your feet here and learn more about this problem, in order that I might consecrate myself more effectively in the future to its solution.

I take great pleasure in turning the meeting over to the Chairman, Lord Winterton.

Lord Winterton: I hope that you will allow me on my own behalf and on behalf of all my colleagues to thank you most sincerely for the speech which you have just delivered.

I should like to say, speaking on behalf of my Government, and I imagine that my colleagues would like to join with me on behalf of their Governments, that we are deeply grateful to the President of the United States and to your Government for giving us this opportunity of discussing these difficult problems.

It only remains for me to add that all of us, I think, are most anxious to see some solution of this great problem

and to say that since this Committee was first formed in July 1933 that the thirty-two countries represented upon it, and especially those countries which supply the officers of the organization, the Vice Chairmen and the organization have worked in the greatest amity and harmony.

Naturally we should have liked to have achieved more. I think we can say, however, that, thanks very largely to our two directors, Mr. George Rublee and Sir Herbert Emerson, we can claim that in that comparatively short period we have done something to alleviate human suffering and to bring order out of chaos.

(Applause)

(At this point Lord Winterton took the Chair and Secretary Hull left the meeting).

Lord Winterton: I will ask Mr. Myron Taylor if he will now address the conference.

Mr. Myron Taylor: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen:

I would like to say first of all what a very great pleasure it is to me to have you, Lord Winterton, and you, Sir Herbert Emerson, in Washington for a meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee. I realize the difficulties which might have persuaded less courageous souls to remain at home at the present time, but you have overlooked all danger and difficulty that might come to you, and we are delighted to have you with us.

You and your government have been so hospitable to us of the committee during the last year, that it is a satisfaction to reciprocate your hospitality in some small measure.

The President at the opening of our conference today emphasized that the committee has a duty to look into the future, determine what must be done to continue the work in behalf of refugees, despite the outbreak of the war.

For our guidance he has set forth several high points.

First, the President said that the work of the committee should not be abandoned, it must be re-directed.

Second, he suggested that urgent attention should be given to the short range program for dealing with persons who are now in countries of refuge. He said that this program involves the resettlement of somewhat more than 100,000 persons who were craving an opportunity to resume a useful life.

Third, he said that a long range program should be envisaged for dealing with the broader problem of resettling great numbers of people who may be victims of the war.

Fourth, the President emphasized the importance of going ahead in an active manner with the engineering and colonizing aspects of settlement projects.

Fifth, the President expressed the hope that the governments members of the Intergovernmental Committee would be consulted with regard to the possibility of

extending the activity of the committee.

I am confident there will be no difference of opinion with regard to continuing the work of the Intergovernmental Committee. The committee has proved its value in trying times. I am sure that it will continue to be of service in a time of international catastrophe. I am certain that this point will not require discussion.

In regard to the second point, that is the necessity of the short range program for dealing with persons in countries of temporary refuge, I am sure that we shall welcome the expert opinions of Sir Herbert Emerson and of Monsieur van Zeeland. All reports which we have received indicate that the situation of refugees in these countries is acute, and that it is urgently necessary to take steps to alleviate this situation.

I believe that this can be done partly by a continuation of the processes of infiltration. It must be supplemented, however, by a beginning of settlement in the various places which have been explored and upon which work can now begin.

What the committee can do to solve the broader general problem of refugees will depend in large part upon whether the governments members of the committee are willing to extend the activity of the committee. We shall have to consider this point carefully and determine how we can proceed with the best promise of positive results.

It is clear that we, the officers, cannot bind the committee. All that we can do is to report to the participating governments that President Roosevelt has expressed the hope that the committee's mandate could be extended, and invite expressions of their respective views.

I would like to suggest that the chairman instruct the secretary to circularize the participating governments immediately to this effect, and to correlate the replies for the information of the officers and the full committee.

In conclusion may I urge that there be no let up in the work which we have undertaken and in the exemplary work of the coordinating foundation and the individual corporations for dealing with the respective settlement projects.

I fully realize that the war has greatly complicated our task, and that, for example, the transit countries which heretofore have played such an important part in accepting refugees temporarily, are no longer in position to do so, and that private communities are no longer able to contribute their share of relief funds that are required. This will necessitate, among other things, moving emigrants hereafter directly to the countries of settlement. I cite only this one example.

There are other factors which complicate the situation, but we must not evidence discouragement, we must bend our backs to the task of greater vigor and prove that we have the foresight and ingenuity required to solve the problem

which is a blot on our Western civilization.

Lord Winterton: His Excellency, the Ambassador from Argentine, Senor Don Felipe A. Espil.

His Excellency Senor Espil (Argentine Republic): I have no special comment to make although I wish to pay tribute to the great humanitarian undertaking sponsored by President Roosevelt.

Lord Winterton: Does the Brazilian Ambassador wish to say a few words, His Excellency Carlos Martins, Ambassador from Brazil.

His Excellency Senor Carlos Martins (Brazil): I have no particular instructions from my government about this.

I wish to express full appreciation of my government, however.

Lord Winterton: The French Ambassador, Count de Saint-Quentin.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin (France): For myself I must apologize for not being very familiar with those problems, but I, of course, want to express the deep interest which our government takes in that problem and the work of this committee.

My first duty would be, of course, to say how deeply the French representatives on this Committee regrets not being here. Mr. Myron Taylor told us at the luncheon of the telegram which he had received from Monsieur Henry Berenger. Being, as you know, the Chairman of the Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs of the French Senate, my eminent compatriot is detained at home and could not emulate Lord Winterton's example, as he should like to have done.

As you know, France has always been, in the course of history, familiar with the refugee problem. On account of our geographical situation, and also perhaps from our national character, or maybe that our geographical situation has influenced our national character, it has been quite a tradition for France to accept on her territory and to welcome a great number of foreigners.

We have now, out of a population of nearly 40,000,000 inhabitants, about 3,000,000 foreigners. Those foreigners are at home, they feel comfortable on our soil, and they certainly contribute to the prosperity of the country.

In that number are included several hundred thousand political refugees, people who have been advised to leave their own country because they weren't acceptable any more to the prevailing race or creed or political school.

We have consistently accorded this hospitality in the course of our history, and we have found it a contribution to our people, to the intellectual and moral formation of the French nation, that means to our civilization, and that has been very great.

I think now we may have about 500,000 political refugees, some of whom came gradually after the war, about 75,000 White Russians, about 65,000 Armenians, a good many Austrians and Germans, when we had the second wave, if I may say so, of

Germans and Austrians, especially people of Jewish creed, but also a good many Catholics or Protestants who disagreed with the political doctrines of the German Government.

Those people were there when we had the unprecedented influx of 400,000 Spanish refugees.

Of course, this Committee has been especially mandated to deal with the question of the German and Austrian people. So we are quite sympathetic to the appeal that the President and the American Government sent to the nations to study the problem of resettling those refugees of Central Europe. Among those who have been admitted in France, a good many are waiting departure for other countries, having applied for a visa to enter the United States or some other country.

A special problem has arisen in regard to them since the outbreak of the present war. Many of them are German and Austrian citizens. That means that independently of their own feelings and their creeds, they are subjects of an enemy power and have had to be interned in special camps. The only way to deal with such cases was to have a general roundup at first, but we have already begun to open the doors to some people we knew very well and who offered every guarantee. I am informed by my Government that it is its intention to open the doors still wider and to help those people to return little by little to normal life.....That process may be hastened thanks to the valuable cooperation of such an organization as C.R.T. which, as you know, has

devoted its activity for many years to the professional training of refugees.....I think that France will thus be able to assist settlement countries, because it will furnish them with people who won't interfere with the local economy, as they would be not only tradesmen and bankers or doctors, a surplus of which seems to exist in many countries, but also agricultural workers or skilled workers.

Under the present conditions, as Mr. Myron Taylor reminded us, we would find it very difficult for the Government to give any financial contribution to the plan finally agreed on by the committee, but of course we will do our best in full sympathy and agreement with the other members of the Committee. I may add in deep gratitude to the American Government and the American people who have been so generous towards the refugees of all countries and whose example is, I feel, so comforting to refugees in all parts of the world, we can't indeed forget that among the original settlers of this great country there are a good many refugees that came from our European countries.

That is all as to the immediate problem that Mr. Myron Taylor spoke of.

As for the larger problem, I have no special instructions. I shall communicate with my Government, but I must say that we greatly appreciate that interest of the American Government goes above the present time to the future. War absorbs all the activities of the countries unfortunately

engaged in it. However, we must try to see above it, and go on in the pursuit of our ideals.

Lord Winterbottom: I am going to ask the Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands if he will address us, the Honorable Doctor A. Loudon.

The Honorable Dr. A. Loudon (Netherlands): In the first place, I would like to refer to the general remarks made by Mr. Beucker-Andreae with regard to this problem, and which are to be found in the minutes of the Evian Conference. The situation, so far as the Netherlands are concerned, has not changed since that time.

I think, therefore, I need not take your time by giving a second general picture of this problem.

Nor do I think it is necessary because I entirely agree, and I know that the Netherlands Government entirely agrees, with the picture that has just been given by the French Ambassador, concerning the moral side of the question.

I listened to the President's speech during the luncheon at the White House with a great deal of interest, and it seems to me that the President has raised quite a few new questions. With regard to these new questions, to which Mr. Myron Taylor has alluded, I have no instructions from my Government. My instructions apply only to the agenda which is before us, and I can therefore give my Government's views only with regard to the items on the agenda.

In the meantime, I think that the address of the President of the United States has been so inspiring that I am of the opinion that it deserves our closest attention. I therefore venture to suggest that we divide our work in two, and dedicate ourselves first to the agenda and then to the new points which both the President of the United States and Mr. Myron Taylor brought forth.

These new points could be discussed in some way, and might perhaps be formed in the shape of a draft resolution or a "wish," to be submitted at once to our respective governments, either directly by us or through the intermediary of the full committee.

I must leave that entirely to you, Mr. Chairman, but I think that we should not lose time as the President has stressed that it is very necessary to do something, and that we should go to work at once. In that way perhaps we can defer to the wishes of the President and give proof of our interest in what he has said.

Lord Winterton: Gentlemen, as the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee, I have heard with great interest what my colleagues around the table have said.

Perhaps I might deal with the point that Dr. Loudon has just raised, and say that it seems to me that probably the procedure that he suggests will be the best procedure. The importance of the question which was raised by the President in his address at lunch cannot be overestimated,

and I have not received any definite instructions from my Government upon the point. I think that probably we all feel that we should confer with our Governments and receive our instructions before we can make a very definite statement on the matter, and I have rather gathered, Mr. Taylor, that that would be also the view of the United States Government.

Mr. Taylor: In the statement I made I suggested that reference be had to the Governments, and as you were speaking I was questioning myself whether in the first instance the officers, the chairman and the vice chairmen, and the director, should consult with their governments on these points before presenting the points to the full committee.

I wonder how you would feel about that, Mr. Chairman?

Lord Winterton: I think that would probably be the most convenient course and I don't want to trouble my colleagues with a long statement, but I think that I should be wanting in courtesy to the United States Government if I did not say a word in commendation of what has recently been done.

When more than a year ago, the British and other Governments responded to the generous initiative of the United States Government in calling a conference for the purpose of dealing with the problem of refugees from Germany, they little thought that, heart-breaking though that problem was, it was to be made vastly more distressing, wider and more complicated by a war which none of the countries represented

at Evian desired, and which some of them, now involved in it, desperately attempted to ward off. In spite of the efforts of my Government, on which it is unnecessary for me to dwell, to promote a peaceful settlement of the disputed issues in European politics, war broke out and is razing with an intensity which needs no emphasis from me. I will only say that the same forces which gave rise to the original problem which the Evian Committee was called into being to deal with have set in motion powers of destruction to meet which all the peoples of Europe, whether directly involved in the war or not, will need all the courage and fortitude they possess to withstand, if the Christian civilization on which so much of the world's life depends is not to be overwhelmed.

In such a welter of hatred and destruction, amid such immeasurable and undeserved human suffering, the continued sympathy of your great country towards the refugees in this problem is a factor whose significance it would be impossible to exaggerate.

Such a gesture, inspired by charity and a sense of human brotherhood transcending all political considerations will not, however, have come as unexpected to the members of the Committee. I may be allowed briefly to recall that in the vast refugee problems created in the war that began in 1914, it was the United States who took the most prominent part in initiating, organizing and carrying on relief among

refugees of various nationalities on a scale to which we have not yet come, but which we should perhaps be unwise to dismiss as impossible as the struggle develops. If I say that the American Red Cross in March 1923 is recorded to have been feeding half a million refugees a day - one example among many which might be quoted from 1914 onwards - this will indicate something of the boundless generosity and gift for organization applied by the American people to the victims of war, revolution and persecution.

The human appeal to which the United States responded so nobly has been heard also by the British and other nations. Speaking for my own people I can say that from the time when the refugee problem became a matter of serious international concern, there was a wave of generous sentiment, expressed not only in hospitality and financial assistance, but in whole-hearted support from all political parties to His Majesty's Government in the various measures which they proposed in an effort to solve the problem or at least alleviate some of its most distressing consequences. I need only mention the large sums voted for the assistance of refugees from Czechoslovakia, and the offer which, on behalf of my Government I was authorized to make to the Inter-Governmental Committee last July, that they were prepared to consider contributions from public funds to the cost of refugee settlement. That offer was made, not only in time of peace, but at a time when it appeared as if the labors of the Inter-

Governmental Committee were going to bear fruit in a practical scheme for the orderly emigration from Germany. With the coming of the immeasurable disaster of war the situation is fundamentally altered. Not all the original function of the Committee is destroyed; it still has tasks, perhaps bigger tasks, before it. But the financial resources at least of those member-Governments which have to bear the burden of a mighty struggle are now fully pledged to the prosecution of the war, in which they are engaging their blood and their treasure. Projects which His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom were anxious to promote are now rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible of execution. Yet, in spite of all, thanks to the initiative taken by the American Government, the basis of international cooperation remains; the will to work together in an effort to solve the refugee problem is still alive, and we can all devote our thoughts to considering what has so far been achieved, what has been planned and what it may, under new conditions, be possible still to plan for the effective furtherance of the great cause in whose service you have called us together. On behalf of my Government I want to say that we will, in a spirit of complete frankness, but with the utmost sympathy and desire to collaborate, examine any suggestions which may be made during this conference, with the object of alleviating the distress, and more, promoting a lasting settlement of the tremendous difficulties ..

caused by the refugee problem in Europe.

Gentlemen, I think you will agree that the next step that we should take would be to ask our director, Sir Herbert Emerson, to report to us what has taken place since the last meeting of the full Intergovernmental Committee.

Sir Herbert, will you address the conference?

Sir Herbert Emerson: Just a general statement of the situation, or on the first item in the agenda?

Lord Winterton: Mr. Pell, what were your ideas in drawing that up?

Mr. Pell: We understood that Sir Herbert had a statement which he wanted to make.

Sir Herbert Emerson: Well, perhaps I may explain --

Lord Winterton: (interposing) Perhaps Sir Herbert's statement would come best on the first item of the agenda. Is that the wish of the conference? And then I understand it has been suggested that Mr. McDonald should make a statement after Sir Herbert has spoken. I think that would all come in item 1 of the agenda. I take it, gentlemen, that we agree on that. Sir Herbert, will you then open the discussion on the first item of the agenda today, which is the "Report on the present position of the refugee problem and a review of the work of the Intergovernmental Committee".

Sir Herbert Emerson: I may say that I have written a memorandum on each of the first five items on the agenda.

Owing to the war it was not possible to communicate the memoranda direct to the individual officers, but I had hoped that a copy might be in their hands before this meeting. With that object in view, I had sent to the American Embassy in London copies of the memoranda with the request that the State Department would be good enough to deliver them to the representatives. The ship by which the memoranda came, left, I believe, four days before we left, but unfortunately for the memoranda, and happily for us, we have arrived before the memoranda.

I must therefore apologize that copies of them are not in the hands of the representatives, and unfortunately I have myself with me today only one copy. I shall refer briefly to this memorandum which I shall place later at the disposal of the officers. (Sir Herbert Emerson then gave the substance of the memorandum, the full text of which is given below):

MEMORANDUM
by the Director

1. In view of the war, it is unnecessary to give more than a very brief statement of the relations between the Intergovernmental Committee and the German authorities immediately before the outbreak of hostilities. The conversations carried on in January and February of this year resulted in an expression of the intention of the German Government to carry out a program of orderly emigration,

provided that substantial progress was made in the settlement of involuntary migrants in other countries. The program provided for the release of Jews from concentration camps, for the restraining of persons for emigration, for the employment of persons awaiting emigration, for the finance, subject to certain conditions, of emigration from Jewish funds in Germany, for the removal from Germany by involuntary migrants of personal property and equipment for resettlement, and for exemption from emigration taxes. The Intergovernmental Committee, at its February meeting, took cognizance of this program, and decided that it would, acting independently, continue to exert its best efforts to develop opportunities for settlement. During the spring and summer months of this year several occasions were taken to impress on Herr Wohlthat the magnitude of the migration then taking place from Germany and the progress that was being made in solving the problem of involuntary emigration from Germany. Certain provisions of the German program were put into effect. The number detained in concentration camps was greatly reduced. Some measures were taken to provide restraining for emigration, restrictions on the employment of Jews were relaxed in some respects, and a central organization for the relief and education of Jews inside Germany was established. No effective steps, however, were taken to establish the Internal Trust inside Germany, which was to be the authority through which the emigration was to

be financially assisted. In my last discussion, however, with Herr Wohlthat on July 19th last, definite hope was expressed that there would be little further delay in its establishment, and a later message suggested that it would be set up within a month. Before the month had expired the crisis which developed into the present war had darkened the entire outlook and made further progress impracticable.

2. Before the outbreak of war I drafted a memorandum describing the position of the refugee problem as it was at the end of August. This memorandum is now out of date, since the nature of the problem has changed to a large extent, but I repeat such facts and figures contained in the original memorandum as may be relevant or of interest.

(a) Making use of material from various sources I estimated that at the end of August, 1939, the number of confessional Jews in Germany was 250,000 and in Austria 63,000, making a total of 313,000. Had the war not occurred it would have been necessary to emigrate 167,000 of those from Germany and 42,000 from Austria.

(b) The total number of non-Aryan Christians in Greater Germany was 190,000 at a rough estimate, of whom 127,000 would have had to be evacuated.

(c) The Council for German Jewry made an estimate of the total emigration of confessional Jews from Greater Germany between April 1933 and July 1, 1939. The figures were as follows:

From Germany	215,000
From Austria	97,000
From Czecho-Slovakia	<u>17,000</u>
Total	329,000

Those evacuated from Czecho-Slovakia consisted almost entirely of Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria or the Sudetenland. On the assumption that the emigration of non-aryan Christians has been roughly one-fifth of that of full Jews, and allowing for emigration since the Council for German Jewry made its estimate, it may be assumed that, since 1933, 400,000 refugees have emigrated from Greater Germany.

(a) The Council for German Jewry estimated that, of the number of full Jews who had emigrated from Germany up to July 1, 1939, 150,000 were in European countries, that of these 50,000 could be considered as settled, and that not less than 100,000 were awaiting re-emigration. To these might be added 20,000 non-aryan Christians and about the same number of Czechs and political refugees from the Sudetenland. The Council for German Jewry further estimated that, of the Jewish refugees who have found refuge in countries outside Europe, 16,000 would have to be re-emigrated. Had there been no war, the problem of emigration within the scope of the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee would have been as follows:

(1) To be emigrated from Germany - confessional Jews - 167,000.

(2) To be emigrated from Austria - confessional Jews - 42,000.

(3) To be emigrated from Greater Germany non-Aryan Christians - 127,000.

(4) To be re-emigrated from European countries of temporary refuge - 140,000.

(5) To be re-emigrated from non-European countries of temporary refuge - 16,000.

3. Mention may be made of certain features of the position as it existed at the end of August.

(a) Practically all the well-to-do refugees with resources outside Germany had already left; so had most of those who had relatives or friends outside Germany able to support them or to give the necessary guarantee. Again, where emigration has been governed by the selection of suitable persons, as in the case of some countries of settlement, the process has removed many of those most suitable for emigration. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that those still in Germany are on the whole poorer in material resources and weaker in personal qualifications than those who have left. Even before the war neighbouring countries had closed their frontiers so far as this could be done. Shanghai was no longer a place of refuge, and insofar as illegal entry into Palestine was successful, it was set off by a reduction in the number of legal entrants. These were all factors which would have operated against the

maintenance of the past rate of emigration. On the other hand, there was a snowball element in the movement, which was producing intangible but very considerable results. As the refugees became settled in new countries and able to provide for others, one of their first acts was to secure the emigration of their relatives, and this process had a cumulative effect which continuously tended to accelerate emigration.

(b) While the number of persons to be evacuated from Germany was continuously decreasing, the number of those to be re-emigrated from countries of temporary refuge was continuously increasing. My estimate of the number of these at the end of August, 1939 was 156,000, of whom 140,000 were in European countries. This latter number, it may be observed, was not the total in those countries, which was nearer 200,000. Of the total, at least 60,000 were dependent for maintenance on charitable organizations, and this was also the case with the great majority of the 18,000 who would have to be re-emigrated from non-European countries of temporary refuge. On the other hand, had there been no war, a considerable number of those in European countries would have been able to finance their own emigration had openings been available, and the Council for German Jewry put the number of these as high as 50,000. Before the war the problem of refugees in countries of temporary refuge was a serious one. It was an embarrassment to the Government

concerned, it was viewed with suspicion by organized labor, and, although much of this suspicion was founded on false economics, it none the less increased the danger of anti-semitism. Further, it placed a tremendous strain on the resources of the private organizations, which were finding themselves unable to furnish the funds for maintenance and at the same time to finance emigration. Already both in Holland and Belgium the State had been obliged to come to the assistance of the organizations in maintaining the refugees.

(c) It was recognized that the problem of Jews in Greater Germany was a part only of the general question of Jews in Central Europe. There was a widespread movement, based on economic, political or racial grounds, and affecting Poland, Roumania, Hungary and Bulgaria, to reduce by emigration the Jewish population. The intensity of the pressure in each of these countries varied with political conditions, but where economic factors were at work as in Poland, the problem was largely independent of political causes. The pressure was greatest where German influence was high, and since the events of March 1939 there had been serious and steady deterioration in the position of Jews in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. The position in the Protectorate and Slovakia was particularly relevant, since it was closely connected with German policy and the German

program. Briefly, the position was as follows: In the Protectorate there were 100,000 confessional Jews, of whom approximately 15,000 came directly within the mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee as being refugees from Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland. In addition there were between 10,000 and 15,000 non-Aryan Christians. In Slovakia there were roughly 90,000 Jews of whom 5,000 were refugees from other countries. Under German influence and pressure the persecution of Jews had already reached serious proportions. In the Protectorate, the Jewish leaders had been ordered by the German authorities to arrange for the emigration of Jews at the rate of 1000 per week. No funds were available from private organizations, except a little from the Jewish Agency, and the balance of the British Government Fund was quite inadequate to finance emigration except on a small scale. If, therefore, there had been no war, and persecution had made it necessary to take up the question of Jewish emigration from the Protectorate and Slovakia, it would have been necessary proportionately to curtail the German program for Greater Germany.

4. Some attempt may now be made to appraise the drastic changes in the problem caused by the war. But any appreciation of this character must be very tentative, since insufficient time has elapsed to estimate accurately even the immediate changes, while the situation will vary from time to time as the war proceeds. For the present purpose

attention is restricted to the categories of persons who at the outbreak of war came within the scope of the activity of the Intergovernmental Committee. No account is taken of the new classes of refugees which the war may create. Subject to these very important qualifications the more important qualifications and the more important effects of the war on the problem appear to be the following:

(a) First, there is the question of those persons inside Germany who were included within the scope of the Intergovernmental Committee. These were defined in the resolution dated July 14th 1938 as follows: "Persons who have not already left their country of origin (Greater Germany), but who must emigrate on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs or racial origin." Little authentic information is available regarding the present attitude of the German authorities towards this class. While there has not been any general invitation to Jews to return to Germany as reported in the press, it appears to be true that efforts have been made to induce individual Jews with special qualifications to return. Reports from Jewish sources are to the effect that more Jews have been taken into employment, and particularly into labor corps, but that the policy of the authorities is still to emigrate as many Jews as possible and to continue to exert pressure to this end. The Jews in Germany are very nervous about

their future and are anxious to emigrate if allowed to do so. They hope that some external agency will be able to assist them. This presumably would have to be a neutral organization. On the other hand, it is *prima facie* reasonable to assume that Germany will not wish, during a time of war, to get rid of any person who is likely to be of use in the prosecution of the war. Similarly, it may be assumed that she will still wish to get rid of persons whose emigration would assist the prosecution of the war by relieving the pressure on her economic resources or for any other reason. It may further be assumed that, given the opportunity, she would use the emigration of refugees to establish her agents in a belligerent country. If these assumptions are correct they raise at once a very important question of policy. There are five Governments now at war with Germany who are represented on the Intergovernmental Committee, namely, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Will it be possible for them to continue to subscribe to an activity of the Committee which they might consider would help the enemy? In other words, will it be possible to continue to include within the scope of the Committee persons who have not already left Greater Germany, their country of origin? This, it may be observed, is a question quite distinct from the attitude which the Government of a neutral country as such may wish to adopt.

towards the immigration of persons proceeding direct from Germany, or towards such other measures as it may be able to take in the interest of the Jews inside Germany. This is purely the concern of the individual government, and is distinct from the policy which the Intergovernmental Committee, as an international body, may wish to adopt. One of the objects of the Committee, as stated in the Resolution dated July 14, 1938, was the following:

"To improve the present conditions of exodus of refugees from Greater Germany and to replace them by conditions of orderly emigration."

The Director, as chief executive officer of the Committee, was directed to undertake negotiations with the German authorities for the purpose of achieving this object. So far as negotiations or discussions with the German authorities are concerned, it would appear obvious that these have come to an end, and cannot be resumed during the war. So far as direct emigration of refugees from Germany is concerned (as a function of the committee), without attempting to anticipate the decision of the committee on this point, it appears reasonable to assume, for the present purpose, that it will be inconsistent with the general policy of those Governments represented on the Committee which are now at war with Germany.

(b) If this is so, there remains the second category

of persons, namely, those "who have already left their country of origin and who have not yet established themselves permanently elsewhere." The object of the Inter-governmental Committee as stated in the Resolution above cited was to develop opportunities of permanent settlement for these. In short, it would appear that the practical work of the Committee, insofar as it is not extended to categories not at present included, will be confined to those persons who are in countries of temporary refuge. For the sake of conveniences such countries may be classified as (1) belligerent countries; (2) neutral European countries; (3) neutral non-European countries.

(c) The belligerent countries of temporary refuge are the United Kingdom and France. The present policy of the British Government towards refugees in the United Kingdom is to regard Czech refugees as friendly aliens and German and Austrian refugees as technically enemy aliens. There is, however, no intention to follow a policy of general internment. While the safety of the State must be the first consideration, and the individuals are liable to internment, the general policy is to allow as many as can be safely allowed to take up employment as opportunities occur, and even to do some forms of national service. In order to ascertain those who can be safely allowed these concessions, a number of tribunals have been established which will

classify the refugees according to their reliability. It is probable that as a result of this examination and the overriding executive powers of the Government, a comparatively small number will be interned. A larger number will be free from any restrictions, while the great majority, while free to seek employment, will be subject to minor restrictions, e. g. periodical reports to the police. This, however, is merely an estimate.

It is too early to give more than an indication of how this policy will affect the private organizations. An uncertain factor is the attitude of the public towards persons of German origin or nationality, even although those persons have been the victims of German aggression. So far, public reactions have been more favorable than might have been anticipated. At the middle of September about 8,000 domestic servants had been dismissed from their employment and were a charge on the private bodies. But in many cases dismissals were due to the readjustment of households and the closing down of establishments which were a direct result of the war. None the less, from one fourth to one third of the dismissals were due to the not unnatural prejudice against retaining enemy aliens in service. On the other hand, comparatively few guarantors for the care of children have tried to resile from their agreements, and most of the cases that have occurred are due to a genuine

change in material circumstances. If public opinion remains favorable, a large number of the refugees should be absorbed in remunerative employment, but there will be a time-lag of at least several months before employment is general, and during this period the strain on the resources of the private organizations for maintenance and support will be greater than before the war. At the same time, as explained in a memorandum on a later item in the agenda, the ability of the private organizations to raise funds in England will be very greatly reduced, and possibly be almost non-existent.

It seems unlikely that the United Kingdom will be able to admit any more refugees of enemy origin.

(d) No official information has been received regarding the policy of the French Government towards refugees in France. It appears from private sources, however, that in the first place male Austrian and German refugees have been interned, but that their cases will be examined by Commissions, and that following this examination use will be made in various forms of employment, including national service, of those in regard to whose reliability there is no doubt. It is not known whether the French Government will desire to emigrate some of the refugees if openings and facilities are available.

(e) Little information is at present available regarding the position in European neutral countries. The

three countries which have received most refugees as temporary visitors are Holland, Belgium and Switzerland. Even before the war their presence was the cause of much embarrassment to the Governments and was placing a very heavy strain on the private organizations. The common desire was to emigrate as many as possible and as quickly as possible. The war cannot fail to increase the difficulties of the Governments and of private bodies, who may be expected to urge that the emigration of refugees be pressed forward.

(f) Before the war the position of refugees in non-European countries of temporary refuge, e. g. Shanghai, was deplorable. They were dependent for support on the charity of private organizations, and the opportunities for re-emigration were small. The problem in their case will be to continue private relief and to explore permanent means of livelihood.

5. Assuming that as a function of the Committee direct emigration from Germany will cease to all intents and purposes, the problem of finding new homes is now reduced to the re-emigration of a certain number of persons from countries of temporary refuge. In paragraph 2 (b) above, an estimate is given of the number of these at the end of August 1939. The figure given is 156,000, of whom 140,000 were in European countries. It is impossible

to say as yet how the war will affect these. Much depends on the policy of Great Britain and France, and the demand for labor both during and after the war in these countries. There is the further consideration that the object for which Great Britain and France are fighting is to bring to an end the system of Nazism which inter alia is the direct cause of the refugee problem of Greater Germany. When this object has been attained, it should be possible for many of the Jewish refugees to resume their life in Germany.

It would therefore appear that the immediate problems are, first, to provide for the maintenance and support of refugees in countries of temporary refuge, and second, to relieve the pressure on those countries by re-emigration.
(End of memorandum).

In amplification of the memorandum Sir Herbert Emerson explained that after it was written a message was received from the German authorities.

Sir Herbert Emerson: Referring to the discussions with the German authorities, I wish to read a message which was received from Mr. Wohlthot after the outbreak of war. I think it is of importance. It reached Mr. Achilles about the end of September, and this was the wording:

"The Government of the German Reich is willing to continue cooperation with the Intergovernmental Committee

with respect to the emigration of Jews from Germany. Such emigrants will be permitted to take their effects with them with the exception of certain articles of which there is a shortage in Germany. Under the present circumstances no funds in Germany may be used for the transportation of either persons or effects beyond the German border. Property left in Germany by Jews will be put at the disposal of the Reich Committee for German Jews, for the support of needy persons of that race in Germany."

So it would seem that even if the committee were able to arrange for the direct emigration of persons from Germany, no financial help would be forthcoming from their own assets or wealth, except that they would be allowed to take their personal effects with them, whatever they may be. It would thus appear difficult in the conditions of a war to assume that it will be still possible for the Committee to carry on its function of direct contact. That is, of course, a matter for the Committee to decide. I am merely putting forth what seems to me a *prima facie* difficulty.

Another function of the Committee is to find permanent homes for those who have left Germany but are still in countries of temporary refuge.

Whatever may be the position as regards the other two functions, it is clear that this function remains, and

as I have suggested, there is a great deal of work to be done in that direction.

There are 140,000 persons in Europe who are not assured of permanent homes and there are about 16,000 outside of Europe who have still no permanent means of livelihood. There are 140,000 to be re-emigrated from European countries of temporary refuge, and about 16,000 to be re-emigrated from outside Europe.

There again even that part of the problem may be simplified to some extent for the time being.

Mr. McDonald: Might I interrupt? Have you the figures for the break down of that 140,000 in the various countries?

Sir Herbert Emerson: I am afraid I have not accurate figures, because the 140,000 is not the total in those countries, which is much larger. The number of 140,000 represents the persons in those countries who cannot stay there, who have to be re-emigrated.

Count de Saint-Quentin: A few minutes before you gave us two figures, 16,000 for the Jews outside of Europe and 147,000 for those inside Europe? I suppose they are about the same figures?

Sir Herbert Emerson: I ought to have given you 140,000 inside Europe and 16,000 outside. These are very rough figures, of course, only approximations.

But as I was saying, even taking that restricted part

of the problem, the war may, for the time being, simplify it to some extent. For instance, quite a number of the 140,000 I mentioned are in England and in France. I don't know the figures for France. Perhaps His Excellency may know them?

Cout de Saint-Quentin: Between forty and fifty thousand.

Sir Herbert Emerson: The figures in England at the outbreak of the war were about 50,000 altogether, of which probably something like 25,000 would have had to re-emigrate. When war broke out, the British Government decided not to intern all enemy aliens as it had done in the previous war. It interned a few who were obviously enemy agents, but for the rest, it allowed them their liberty under certain restrictions. They could not move outside a radius of 5 miles without permission, and so on. But the great majority of them it allowed to stay where they were and they were not interned.

The British Government then set up a number of tribunals presided over either by high judicial officers or by members of the bar. I think altogether there are about 110 such tribunals. The function of each tribunal is to examine the cases of about 500 enemy aliens, and those enemy aliens of course include all the refugees from Greater Germany.

So far as the refugees are concerned, the tribunal starts with the initial presumption that a refugee who has had to flee from Nazi persecution is a friendly alien, and if the tribunal finds that it is not necessary to intern a particular refugee, he will be allowed, subject to appeal to retain his liberty unless he does something which forfeits it. He will have an endorsement on his registration certificate saying that he is a refugee from Nazi persecution and he will be allowed to obtain work through the labor exchanges.

When we left England the tribunals had only just begun their work, and it is not possible to indicate what the result may be. But one hopes that as a result of this examination the great majority, at least 90 percent of the refugees from Greater Germany, will be allowed to retain their liberty; and further, one hopes that within the course of the next few months the great majority of those who are at liberty will be able to obtain some form of remunerative employment. Some of them possibly will go into national service, others into various jobs that the war will create.

Lord Winterton: At this point I might just supplement what our director has said. As a member of the British Government I would like to pay testimony to the great eagerness shown by the refugees that we have in our country to serve our country in some way in time of war, and it is hoped

that of this 90 percent that will be allowed to work, by far the larger number will be employed directly upon war work. Some are anxious to join a legion, if it can be formed, and I have understood that some are going to serve in the legion in your country. (Referring to France).

But I think that is right to say, because it does really have a bearing on the problem, it affects all of the countries represented around this table, that with the exception of perhaps 10 percent, the 90 percent remaining are anxious, in the very big events which are pending in Europe, to take their full share in helping the country of temporary refuge in which they find themselves at this moment. And those of us who have had experience with that, are very pleased with the attitude which they have adopted towards our country.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, in that connection may I say that I was told by some of the Jewish leaders in New York last week, that 65,000 men of military age had offered their services in Palestine.

Lord Winterton: I think that is true, Mr. Taylor.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I have no official information as to what the position is in France. Perhaps his Excellency, the Ambassador, will correct me if I am wrong, but from the non-official information I have received, I understand that owing to the geographical position of France, and owing to the fact that France has very many more aliens and particularly enemy aliens than Great Britain, it was necessary at

the beginning of the war to intern the able-bodied men. But there also I understand it is the intention to set up commissions similar to the tribunals in England, who will examine the cases of each of the refugees, and that once the commission has passed a refugee as reliable, he will be allowed to work, to take up remunerative employment, and perhaps also to undertake some form of national service. I think that is the position.

Count de Saint-Quentin: Yes, I touched upon it in my preliminary remarks. I must add that apparently we have concentration camps and internment camps. Of course, a concentration camp is a limited space for a limited number of people who are under strict supervision. Internment might be in villages or small towns, where the people are supposed to move within a certain radius, probably some miles, 5 miles, as you just said in England. We know that already a certain number of people have been set free, absolutely, and that the intention of our Government is to release a great number of people and to make the process quicker. I don't think that will be before tribunals, but that will be, as you just said, before some commissions.

As for work, just now, there are in the internment and concentration camps, especially in the internment camps, several hundred young people, for example, being taught respectively millinery for girls, or mechanics for men, or

in other places farming. So those ^{people} places will easily find employment either on the land or perhaps for mechanics also in connection with national efforts for those people. And there are a good many of them who have volunteered for doing so.

Sir Herbert Emerson: Well, that is the position as regards Great Britain and France, the one may hope that as a result of the inquiries now being made by the tribunals in the one case and the commissions in the other, more of those refugees will be able to support themselves in due course than was the case immediately before the war. But there will be necessarily a time lag. The war has upset conditions of employment in England, and possibly also in France, and there will be a time lag before the employment of those refugees who are allowed to work will be given work. In the meantime, in England at any rate, they have to be supported by the private organizations, and the private organizations are finding that a heavy burden.

The war had the immediate effect of throwing back on their hands quite a number of refugees who were in employment. For instance, in England, permanent employment had been given to a very large number of domestic servants. When the war came a number of ~~householders~~ either had to economize or the husband went to war, and the wife had to make other arrangements. There was also perhaps,

not unnaturally, a prejudice among some people against employing people who spoke very little English and whose mother tongue was German. An immediate result of the war was thus to throw something like 8,000 domestic servants out of employment and make them dependent for relief and maintenance on the funds of the private organizations.

So although one may hope that after a few months the burdens on those organizations will be less than they were before the war, for the moment they are very definitely heavy.

The British organizations are now devoting all the funds at their disposal for the purpose of relief and maintenance. Occasionally they are able to help a refugee to emigrate where he has already got his visa, but that is rare, and speaking generally the funds of the British private organizations are now being devoted to relief and maintenance.

I imagine that that is probably true also in France.

Count de Saint-Quentin: That is just the same case in France.

Sir Herbert Emerson: That is the position in the belligerent countries.

When we come to the neutral countries, the three countries that took most refugees in temporarily were Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, although practically every country had a certain number of them. The Scandinavian countries have taken in quite a good number. Sweden, for instance,

has something between three and four thousand. Yugoslavia has a certain number. Roumania has a certain number, and so on. There is hardly a country in Europe that has not a certain number of them. But the countries mainly affected are, I think, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland.

Holland has got about 25,000 at least; in Belgium accurate figures are not available, but I should say that there are at least 15,000; and Switzerland has probably got something like 12,000.

Even before the war the situation was becoming increasingly embarrassing in those countries. In spite of all the precautions they took, the number coming into the countries, either legally or illegally, was considerably in excess of the number going out by emigration. The private organizations were finding it increasingly difficult to finance their maintenance.

In Belgium, the Government had already come to the assistance of the private organizations and was making itself responsible for the upkeep of about 3,000 refugees, while in the Netherlands the Government had very generously started the building of a central camp for refugees.

Not only was the situation embarrassing to those countries financially, but there was a grave danger of anti-Semitic feeling rising, and of a certain amount of economic

disturbance because the refugees were interfering to some extent with the labor market.

Here again I have no full official information about what the position now is, but from what information I have, and from my knowledge of the previous situation, I think it is safe to assume that the war will aggravate the position in those countries in several respects.

In the first place, the private organizations will find it more difficult to collect funds. In the second place, there may be - one hopes there will not be - fewer opportunities for emigration than before. And in the third place, one might expect that the governments may find the presence of a large number of persons of German origin and nationality more embarrassing in war time than they have found it in peace time. Fourthly, the war, as far as one can see, is likely to be a disturbing factor so far as economic conditions in those countries are concerned.

So although I have no precise information on the matter, I would expect that the conditions facing both the Governments of those countries and also the private organizations, would be more difficult during the war than they are before.

In support of that assumption, I may say that Mr. Pell has just handed me a letter conveying a telegram from my deputy, in which he says that he has received messages both from the Belgian and the Swiss Governments asking me to bring forward prominently at this conference the urgent necessity of Emigration of refugees from those countries.

To sum up. So far as the problem of Greater Germany is concerned - and we all know there are likely to be many other problems, problems of refugees from Poland and so on, but I am not dealing with these at the moment, I am taking merely the case of refugees from Greater Germany - it seems that for one reason or another the problem will be more restricted in one sense, since it seems obvious that emigration from Greater Germany will be on a lesser scale. It may be easier also because in Great Britain and France, employment is likely to be more plentiful for the refugees and the restrictions on their taking work will be relaxed.

But on the other hand, in the neutral countries, the conditions are likely to be more difficult, and moreover, so far at any rate, as Europe is concerned, it is going to be much more difficult for the private organizations to

obtain the funds which they have been able to secure in the past.

I might perhaps add this. So far as information has drifted through from Germany - I have no doubt many of the gentlemen present are in a much better position to give more accurate information than I am - the Jews in Germany are feeling nervous and frightened about their position, they are naturally uncertain as to what is going to happen to them, and they would, of course, welcome any opportunity for leaving Germany, that might arise.

That leads me to one point which I had omitted to mention. I think it may be assumed, certainly so far as Great Britain is concerned, and I imagine also as regards France, that while the war lasts neither of those countries will be able to take many more refugees into them.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, it has agreed to liquidate certain commitments made before the war. For instance, there were a number of Jewish refugees in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, who had been given certificates for emigration to Palestine. Provided that the authorities are satisfied that the persons presenting certificates are the persons to whom they were granted, and that they are not enemy agents, I understand that those persons will be still allowed to go to Palestine. But when that has been liquidated, I understand that it will only be in very exceptional circumstances that Great Britain will be

able to admit anyone direct from Germany.

Such is the general position, as I see it, and the changes which have been created by the war. But I would like to say that this appreciation is made within a few weeks of war breaking out, and of course may be completely altered by developments.

Lord Winterton: Mr. McDonald, I think you were anxious to make a statement.

Mr. James G. McDonald: Mr. Chairman, before I make this statement on behalf of the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, of which I am Chairman, I should like to say, if I may do so, that as a former commissioner dealing with the general problem of German refugees, I feel a high regard for the report which Sir Herbert has just now given us, and for the wholly admirable and energetic far-sighted leadership which he has displayed from the very time when he first took over this responsibility.

And also in a preliminary way, I should like to say that those of us who are members of the President's Advisory Committee should be very happy and consider it a privilege to be of any service we can to either the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee, or to Sir Herbert, or to Mr. Van Zeeland, when he comes, either here in Washington or subsequently when you ~~were~~ ^{are} in New York. In other words, if we can be of any use whatsoever in the contacts with the private organizations or supplying secretarial help, or in

any other way, we should consider it a privilege to do it.

The President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees has been pleased to cooperate with the Intergovernmental Committee with respect to its efforts to develop opportunities for permanent settlement. In pursuit of this objective it organized commissions of experts to explore the possibilities of settlement in British Guiana, the Dominican Republic, and the Philippines.

The report of the British Guiana Survey Commission has already been presented to the Intergovernmental Committee. It is possible to submit at this meeting of the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee reports on the inquiries in the Dominican Republic and in the Philippines.

The experts who visited the Dominican Republic found that the northeastern part of the island offers excellent colonization possibilities. Some 200,000 acres in this area were considered feasible for the colonization of approximately 28,500 refugee families. The report recommended an initial trial settlement of a small number of refugees and that larger numbers be introduced as experience warranted. Since the receipt of the report the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees has assisted negotiations between interested private groups and the representatives of the Dominican Republic. These negotiations culminated recently in a financial commitment by the private groups to make available a sum of \$200,000, toward the cost of trial settlement of 500 families. A private settlement corporation is

soon to be formed to complete negotiations. The Dominican Republic has expressed its willingness to facilitate plans for settlement and to accept refugees in numbers found to be practical by the experience of the trial settlement.

Perhaps I might interpolate in reference to the Dominican project the suggestion that the Intergovernmental Committee may find it useful to take count of this study up to date, either by some reference to it in its communique, or otherwise. I am sure that would be appreciated by the private groups, and I think it would also have a useful effect in Santo Domingo.

The report of the Mindanao Exploration Commission - the Philippine Commission centered its attention on the Island of Mindanao - has become available more recently. The experts determined that certain areas of the Island of Mindanao, by reason of climate, elevation, health conditions, topography, and soil, are well adapted to European colonization and successful agricultural development for as many as 10,000 individuals. It passed favorably on some 100,000 acres of land in these areas. These lands are near existing transportation facilities and will not require extensive building of roads. President Quezon of the Commonwealth Government has publicly stated his interest in the project and his willingness to cooperate in its development. There has already been some infiltration of refugees in the Philippine Islands and the project if

undertaken immediately will undoubtedly provide new opportunities for a livelihood for many refugees now seeking a new home. There has not been sufficient time since the receipt of the report to consider the problem of financing the settlement in the Philippines but careful estimates included in the report total \$410,000.00 for the initial group of 600 settlers proposed and from \$5,580,000 to \$6,080,000 for the maximum of 10,000 immigrants envisaged.

I might add perhaps that at a meeting last week in New York of the President's Advisory Committee, when we had as guests certain members of the Philippine Commission, Mr. Taylor and two representatives of the State Department, it was the sense of the private groups interested at the end of the meeting that it might be practical to implement this report within a matter of weeks, rather than months, that it might be within five or six weeks that the initial financing could be arranged and the first of the pioneers, if you wish to call them such, certain engineers, workmen, agricultural leaders, might actually be on their way from, as it was hoped, some of the centers of greatest congestion of refugees today.

Lord Winterton: Does that conclude your talk?

Mr. McDonald: Yes.

Lord Winterton: I hope you will allow me to say on my own behalf, and I am sure on behalf of my colleague, how invaluable has been the aid of your Committee, quite in-

valuable to this Committee. I am sure Sir Herbert would like to associate himself with that. We could not have gone on at all without it. I would like to make this acknowledgement of the help we have received from it.

Now Your Excellencies and gentlemen, I don't know what your views are about the session today. It seems to me - I haven't had the opportunity of consulting anybody on this point - but it seems to me that the items 2, 3, and 4 and 5 would rather come together maybe for the purpose of discussion and we had better discuss them as one, and I think it will be difficult to enter upon that discussion this afternoon. I think we should really devote tomorrow morning to that discussion, although before we adjourn this afternoon I think Mr. Pell has received a communication from the Swiss Minister.

Mr. Robert Pell: The Swiss Minister has notified the Secretary of the Committee that he has received instructions from his Government to make a statement to the officers. I explained to him the set-up of the Committee and suggested that perhaps he might wish to communicate his statement through one of the officers, but he feels that he should be allowed an opportunity to appear. I promised to submit his request to the Chairman and the officers.

Lord Winterton: I think we don't want to stand on what we call in our English slang, red tape. Mr. Morris, will you, as Acting Secretary, give your advice on that, is there

anything in the constitution of the conference that would prevent us hearing his Excellency if he should wish to come before us?

Mr. Morris: I believe there is not.

Mr. Pell: I see no reason why he should not come if the officers are agreeable to his appearing.

Señor Don Felipe A. Espil: I see no reason why we shouldn't allow him.

Mr. Pell: I don't think that there will be very many requests from governments. Naturally, private people cannot appear before us, but the Swiss Government is a member of the Committee and I suppose that they are entitled to make that request.

Count de Saint-Quentin: I was just wondering why the Swiss Government doesn't belong to our Committee.

Mr. Pell: They do, sir, but this group is the executive of the Committee. Thirty-two Governments belong to the Committee, and this group is the executive. It was understood that in order to facilitate the business there would be this executive, and the Swiss Minister had a perfect right to communicate his views through one of the officers. But he says that the instructions which he has received are such that he must make this request.

Count de Saint-Quentin: I should think very naturally that we should hear him.

Mr. Taylor: That is my view.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: That is also my view.

Lord Winterton: I think there is nothing in the constitution of our conference that would prevent it, and I think we should tell His Excellency that we should be pleased to have him, and if it would suit him, the first thing tomorrow morning. Will you communicate with him, Mr. Morris?

Mr. Morris: Yes.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: I heard Mr. McDonald speak about the possibility of settling refugees in the Philippine Islands.

Do you want me to present the statement on behalf of the Government of the Netherlands now, or do you wish me to wait until tomorrow?

Lord Winterton: I think it would be better, Your Excellency, to give it tomorrow. I have also a statement to make about British Guiana.

I haven't had an opportunity of consulting privately with the Vice Chairman, but it seems to me, and though I don't want to influence the decision too much, we might perhaps have a little private talk about it afterwards, that it may be necessary to have a further sitting after tomorrow. It seems to me that it will be very difficult to get through everything tomorrow, and it might be necessary to adjourn the meeting for a day or so.

For example, His Excellency, the French Ambassador,

stated I think in his remarks, that he might have to communicate with his Government, and I might have to communicate with my Government, on the last item of the agenda. So I would propose tomorrow to suggest formally to the conference that if it is necessary to do so, we should adjourn to a further date if we cannot conclude the business tomorrow. But if any of Your Excellencies have any objections to that, perhaps we might have a private talk about it afterwards.

Count de Saint-Quentin: I wasn't thinking of communicating with my Government for special instructions, but I just said that certain points might arise beyond my competence, and I probably would have to simply submit suggestions or proposals to my Government.

Lord Winterton: I wasn't asking Your Excellencies to come to a decision now, but it seems to me that the matters are of such importance which are raised in the President's speech, that we should not necessarily end our proceedings tomorrow if we could find a day mutually convenient to all the vice chairmen when we could meet again and have the conference again.

Mr. Taylor, will you say a word on that?

Mr. Taylor: I should think that if it is necessary because of the one larger point of extending the scope of the Committee's authority, or its right to investigate in a field which heretofore they have not covered, that to do it

in a very direct way and have harmony of opinion among the officers, we might very well tomorrow, if it were necessary, adjourn until next week, Wednesday or Thursday, and have a concluding session then. As I understand, Lord Winterton, and Sir Herbert are going to be present at that time. What we do should be very well considered now in advance of the action.

Lord Winterton: Exactly.

Then, gentlemen, what time would you suggest that we meet tomorrow?

Mr. Pell: We would suggest 11 o'clock.

Lord Winterton: If that suits everyone, the session is concluded until 11 tomorrow, when we will take up 2, 3, 4, and 5 on the agenda.

I have to announce that the photographers who are in the Secretary's office would like to take a photograph of the Chairman and Vice Chairmen.

(Whereupon, an adjournment was taken at 5:10 o'clock p.m. until the following day, Wednesday, October 18, 1939, at 11 o'clock a.m.).

There is given here for the convenience of members of the Committee the full text of President Roosevelt's statement of October 17, 1938, as follows:

I am glad to welcome at the White House Lord Winterton, the Chairman; Sir Herbert Emerson, the Director; Mr. Myron Taylor, the Vice-Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee representing the United States of America, the heads of missions of the Argentine Republic, Brazil, France and the Netherlands; and Mr. James G. McDonald, the Chairman of my Advisory Committee on Political Refugees.

I extend through you to the thirty-two Governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee and to the private refugee organizations my appreciation for the assistance which has been given to refugees in the period since the meeting at Evian. I hope the work will be carried on with redoubled vigor, and with more positive results.

In March, 1938 it became clear to the world that a point had been reached where private agencies alone could no longer deal with the masses of unfortunate people who had been driven from their homes. These men, women and children were beating at the gate of any nation which seemed to offer them a haven.

Most of these fellow human beings belonged to the Jewish Race, though many thousands of them belonged to other races and other creeds. The flight from their countries of origin meant chaos for them and great difficulties for other nations which for other reasons -- chiefly economic -- had erected barriers against immigration. Many portions of the world which in earlier years provided areas for immigration had found it necessary to close the doors.

Therefore, a year and a half ago I took the initiative by asking thirty-two governments to cooperate with the Government of the United States in seeking a long range solution of the refugee problem. Because the United States through more than three centuries has been built in great measure by people whose dreams in other lands had been thwarted, it seemed appropriate for us to make possible the meeting at Evian, which was attended by Mr. Myron C. Taylor as my personal representative.

That meeting made permanent the present Intergovernmental Committee, and since that time this Intergovernmental Committee has greatly helped in the settling of many refugees, in providing temporary refuge for thousands of others and in making important studies toward opening up new places of final settlement in many parts of the world.

I am glad to be able to announce today that active steps have been taken to begin actual settlement, made possible by the generous attitude of the Dominican Government and the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth. This is, I hope, the forerunner of many other similar projects in other nations.

Furthermore, I am glad to note the establishment of a distinguished Anglo-American group of the Coordinating Foundation, which with the help of your Committee will investigate the suitability of other places of settlement for immigrants.

Things were going well, although I must confess slowly, up to the outbreak of the war in Europe. Today we must recognize that the regular and planned course of refugee work has been of necessity seriously interrupted.

The war means two things.

First, the current work must not be abandoned: It must be redirected. We have with us the problem of helping those individuals and families who are at this moment in countries of refuge and who for the sake of the world and themselves can best be placed in permanent domiciles during the actual course of the war without confusing their lot with the lot of those who in increasing numbers will suffer as a result of the war itself.

That I may call the short range program, and it presents a problem of comparatively small magnitude. In a moment you will see why I say, "comparatively small magnitude." At this moment there are probably not more than two or three hundred thousand refugees who are in dire need and who must as quickly as possible be given opportunity to settle in other countries where they can make permanent homes.

This is by no means an insoluble task, but it means hard work for all of us from now on -- and not only hard work but a conscientious effort to clear the decks of an old problem -- an existing problem, before the world as a whole is confronted with the new problem involving infinitely more human beings, which will confront us when the present

war is over. This last is not a cheerful prospect, but it will be the almost inevitable result of present conflicts.

That is why I specifically urge that this Intergovernmental Committee redouble its efforts. I realize, of course, that Great Britain and France, engaged as they are in a major war, can be asked by those nations which are neutral to do little more than to give a continuance of their sympathy and interest in these days which are so difficult for them. That means that upon the neutral nations there lies an obligation to humanity to carry on the work.

I have suggested that the current task is small in comparison with the future task. The war will come to an end some day; and those of us who are realists know that in its wake the world will face a refugee problem of different character and of infinitely greater magnitude.

Nearly every great war leaves behind it vast numbers of human beings whose roots have been literally torn up. Inevitably there are great numbers of individuals who have lost all family ties -- individuals who find no home to return to, no occupation to resume -- individuals who for many different reasons must seek to rebuild their lives under new environments.

Every war leaves behind it tens of thousands of families who for very many different reasons are compelled to start life anew in other lands.

Economic considerations may affect thousands of families and individuals.

All we can do is to estimate on the reasonable doctrine of chances, that when this ghastly war ends there may be not one million but ten million or twenty million men, women and children belonging to many races and many religions, living in many countries and possibly on several continents, who will enter into the wide picture -- the problem of the human refugee.

I ask, therefore, that as the second great task that lies before this Committee, it start at this time a serious and probably a fairly expansive effort to survey and study definitely and scientifically this geographical and economic problem of resettling several million people in new areas of the earth's surface.

We have been working, up to now, on too small a scale, and we have failed to apply modern engineering to our task. We know already that there are many comparatively vacant spaces on the earth's surface where from the point of view of climate and natural resources European settlers can live permanently.

Some of these lands have no means of access; some of them require irrigation; most of them require soil and health surveys; all of them present in the process of settlement, economic problems which must be tied in with the economy of existing settled areas.

The possible field of new settlements covers many portions of the African, American and Australasian portions of the globe. It covers millions of square miles situated in comparatively young republics and in colonial possessions or dominions of older nations.

Most of these territories which are inherently susceptible of colonization by those who perforce seek new homes, cannot be developed without at least two or three years of engineering and economic studies. It is neither wise nor fair to send any colonists to them until the engineering and economic surveys have resulted in practical and definite plans.

We hope and we trust that existing wars will terminate quickly; and if that is our hope there is all the more reason for all of us to make ready, beginning today, for the solution of the problem of the refugee. The quicker we begin the undertaking and the quicker we bring it to a reasonable decision, the quicker will we be able to say that we can contribute something to the establishment of world peace.

Gentlemen, that is a challenge to the Intergovernmental Committee -- it is a duty because of the pressure of need -- it is an opportunity because it gives a chance to take part in the building of new communities for those who need them. Out of the dregs of present disaster we can distill some real achievements in human progress.

This problem involves no one race group -- no one religious faith. It is the problem of all groups and all faiths. It is not enough to indulge in horrified humanitarianism, empty resolutions, golden rhetoric and pious words. We must face it actively if the democratic principle based on respect and human dignity is to survive -- if world order, which rests on security of the individual, is to be restored.

Remembering the words written on the Statue of Liberty, let us lift a lamp beside new golden doors and build new refuges for the tired, for the poor, for the huddled masses yearning to be free.

CONFERENCE OF OFFICERS
of the
INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

State Department,
Washington, D. C.

October 18, 1939 - 11 a.m.

PRESENT:

(Same as noted for the October 17, 1939 meeting
except:

Hon. Cordell, Secretary of State - Not Present

Dr. Carl Bruggmann, Minister of Switzerland - Present

Lord Winterton: We will first hear from the Minister from Switzerland, Dr. Carl Bruggmann.

The Honorable Dr. Carl Bruggmann (Switzerland): Gentlemen, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to explain in a few words the problems for Switzerland created by the refugees. There are actually between 10 and 12,000 emigrants in Switzerland. Of those, about 3000 are without any means, and must be supported by Swiss organizations. The monthly amount spent on their behalf is about 300,000 Swiss francs (about 66,000 dollars).

Unfortunately, circumstances do by no means allow the possibility to give employment to these refugees in Switzerland, nor is it possible to proceed with the readaptation of their profession. The structure of Swiss economics, particularly the fact that there are still large numbers of unemployed Swiss citizens is prohibitive. As the number of Swiss unemployed is now increased by the evacuation of Swiss citizens from various European countries, there is absolutely no hope that the circumstances in this respect might be changed in favor of the refugees. I beg leave to recall that the number of foreigners already employed in Switzerland, which is between 8 and 10 percent, is probably higher than in any other country. The situation which is often criticized even in normal times, is that about 500,000 Swiss citizens must live abroad because of not being able to find employment in their own country. In war time, the

question of food supplies will aggravate the problem. Bad economic conditions are a good ground for bad seed. It must be feared that the waves of foreign propaganda might provoke feelings in my country which so far have been strange to the big majority of our population.

It must therefore be wished from the Swiss point of view as well as from the point of view of the refugees, who must lead an idle life in Switzerland, to give them as soon as possible the opportunity to settle in other countries. It would for instance be a great help if the unexhausted American quota for German citizens in Germany could be used for the German refugees in Switzerland.

I am certainly permitted to make the statement that Switzerland has never before evaded her duties to humanity and that she is not doing so at present but owing to conditions which are imperative, refugees can only be kept in Switzerland temporarily. They can only be helped and be given rest and strength for their further immigration.

My Government would be very much obliged to your committee to take these facts into consideration.

Lord Winterton: Do any of your Excellencies wish to speak on the statement of the Swiss Minister?

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I have listened with great interest to the declaration by the Minister from Switzerland as to the difficulties encountered by that country due to the fact that they have so large a number of refugees.

I am sure that the representatives of the other countries present have similar stories to tell, and may I say that these countries deserve the highest commendation for their generous offer for the reception of the refugees and hospitality to them during the period of immediate necessity.

I think the meeting will agree with President Roosevelt that our short range program should be emigration of people from those countries as soon as practical to places of final settlement. No time should be lost in tackling these problems and intensifying our efforts to relieve that acute situation.

I believe that the meeting will agree that the cure will have to be found partly through the process of infiltration, and partly by the program with which we are ready to go forward in the opening up of new areas of settlement.

I am sure I voice the unanimous opinion of the meeting when I say how deeply impressed we were to hear from Mr. McDonald that the technical preparations had been completed with regard to the Dominican and Philippine projects, that financing of them is being undertaken, and that the settlements, trial settlements, will be set up in both places in the near future.

Lord Winterton: Your Excellencies, I would like to associate myself on behalf of the United Kingdom Government with everything that Mr. Taylor has said. We are very much aware of the great efforts on behalf of refugees that have

been made by the Swiss Government and also by the Governments of the Netherlands and Belgium, and we would wish to do everything we can to relieve them, to assist in relieving them of the great pressure that exists at the present owing to the very large number of refugees who were considered to be in transit and are now in their countries at the present time.

The Honorable Dr. Louzon: Yesterday I alluded to this point, but the speech of the Swiss Minister forces me to call your attention again to the declarations that have been made by Mr. Beucker-Andreae at the initial conference at Evian.

You yourself, Mr. Chairman, alluded to 25,000 refugees in my country. This is an enormous number, especially if the population of the Netherlands, as compared, for instance, with that of the United Kingdom, is taken into consideration. The United Kingdom has felt very strongly and something should be done, and that these refugees must be cared for. Consequently, that necessity is felt just as strongly, if not more strongly, by the Netherlands Government. These refugees, like in Switzerland, work on our employment market in a very unsatisfactory way. They give rise to all kinds of difficulties which I need not state any further, and the Netherlands feel very keenly that something has to be done, as soon as possible.

Mr. McDonald has already alluded to the examination

of the possibilities of settlement in the Philippines and in the Dominican Republic, and, in the course of discussions in this Committee, it has been said that other parts of the world, especially various countries and territories overseas, might perhaps receive a certain number of refugees. As the members of the Committee have been informed, a commission, in close cooperation with the Netherlands Government, is investigating the prospects of settlement in Surinam, or what is called the Netherlands Guiana.

According to information which I have just received from my Government by telegraph, this commission has not yet finished its examination of the question whether or not it should be possible to settle refugees in this Netherlands territory. However, I have been informed that the preliminary results of the commission's study shows that the possibilities of settlement, if any, would be very limited.

This has to do, I think, with number 2 of the agenda. This is the communication which my Government has asked me to hand to this Committee.

In the course of the other points coming up, I will make a few more observations.

Lord Winterton: Does anyone wish to speak on the Swiss Minister's declaration?

Lord Winterton: Mr. Minister, we are extremely grateful to you for coming before us today.

(The Swiss Minister retired from the conference)

Lord Winterton: Well, gentlemen, as we agreed yesterday, we will next take up a discussion of items 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the agenda.

I have a short statement to make on the settlement in British Guiana on behalf of my Government. It has occurred to me that we were unanimously of the opinion yesterday that we should have another meeting of the Committee next week; that meanwhile, on certain aspects of settlement, it might be desirable for further private conferences to be held between Sir Herbert Emerson and Mr. McDonald, as representing the American refugee organizations, and it may be possible at some time next week to have more detailed information on certain aspects, on certain of the schemes.

Perhaps I might make an announcement, if I may, about British Guiana at the start. It comes within item 2 of the agenda.

My Government has instructed me to make the following statement:

With regard to the scheme for the settlement of refugees in British Guiana, the position is that the private organizations sponsoring this scheme were unable to proceed with the proposed two-year experimental settlement, owing to the outbreak of the war, and it must therefore be regarded as indefinitely suspended.

With regard to the assistance promised by Her Majesty's Government in the form of the provision of arterial communications (should the experimental settlement and the investigation of industrial possibilities indicate that large scale settlement was practicable) this must now of necessity be ruled out at any rate for the duration of the war. If, however, the necessary funds could be secured from other sources, and no financial obligation fell upon Her Majesty's Government, or the Government of the Colony, Her Majesty's Government would give all facilities for the initiation of an experimental settlement on the lines originally contemplated. Pending the outcome of the Washington deliberations, consideration of other schemes for the development of the Colony would be deferred by the Colonial Office.

The reference in the last paragraph is to certain schemes which I understand have been put forward, not necessarily connected with the refugee settlement, by certain persons, and my Government has informed those persons or organizations that they could not consider those schemes until a decision had been reached on the subject of refugee settlement in British Guiana.

Perhaps I might add to these instructions by saying that naturally my Government regrets that it cannot any longer supply the funds which will be necessary for these arterial roads and other things, and I believe equally the

private refugee organizations in Great Britain - Sir Herbert Emerson is in closer touch with them than I am - must regret that they cannot find the money, for the reasons made in my speech yesterday.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I might perhaps just explain that previous to the war a British Guiana corporation was about to be set up for the purpose of carrying on the settlement in British Guiana, and in particular for financing the experimental stage.

Negotiations with the Colonial Office were almost complete when the war came. On the British side, some of the organizations had agreed to put up a certain amount of money and on the American side other American organizations had agreed to put up at least an equal sum and probably a larger sum.

When the war came, the private organizations in England were unable to guarantee the money which had been previously promised, and I understand that in those circumstances one, at any rate, of the American organizations has also asked to be absolved from their previous promise. That is the position at the moment.

But, as Lord Winterton has said, if the money was forthcoming from private sources, the British Government would be quite prepared to do what they could, in making land available in the colonies. That is the position at the moment.

Lord Winterton: Yes, it is a little more definite than that, I have more definite instruction to say that we should be prepared to offer all the facilities, including land, apart from financial aid.

Sir Herbert Emerson: But there is at the moment, I think, practically no prospect of any of the British organizations being able to put up the money.

Lord Winterton: Mr. Taylor, would you support my suggestion? I merely put it forward as a suggestion that there should be private discussions between Mr. McDonald and Sir Herbert to see if anything can be effected?

Mr. Taylor: I would like to make that suggestion. I think this is a wonderful opportunity for the Advisory Committee and the private organizations to take such an active part in this whole matter in this country. And Sir Herbert Emerson particularly I think it would be very helpful when we get to New York for you to do that.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I am looking forward greatly to making that contact. I am particularly interested in what Mr. McDonald said about the Dominican Republic, and about the Philippines. It seems to me a very big step forward will be made if those two schemes, or even one of them, can now be translated to the stage of practical settlement, even if to begin with it is on a purely pioneering and experimental scale.

Mr. Taylor: I would think that the Dominican one was the most desirable to put in operation.

Mr. Warren: It is a little farther along.

Mr. Taylor: That is what I meant, and I think the plan of the settlement is a little more discussable than that of the Philippines.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: I would like to ask a question. Are we going to be informed in some way about the outcome of investigations such as have been made in the Philippines and in the Dominican Republic and in British Guiana, in order that our Governments may learn on what basis it is considered possible to settle refugees in these countries? The reasons which lead to the conclusion that settlement in those countries is possible will probably be of great importance for the Dutch Government to know, especially with regard to settlement in Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, and if we only hear now that it is possible, that would not be sufficient. We should know more about it. We have in Surinam almost the same climatic concitions.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I think it is in order to say that for the confidential use of the Vice Chairmen and the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee, those reports are available, and it will be my suggestion that they have access to the Dominican report which has been completed for some time. The Philippine report has only

been completed recently, and I know I went to a dinner with Mr. McDonald and Mr. Warren in New York one night last week, and heard a report by the members of the commission.

Is there any objection to the Vice Chairmen having access to those reports, Mr. Chairman?

Lord Winterton: No, Mr. Taylor, I think it would be very right that they should. In the case of British Guiana, that report, I think, was made available.

Sir Herbert Emerson: The British Guiana report has already been made available.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: I don't know whether the report has reached my Government.

Of course, what I have said at the beginning of the meeting as well as just now refers to the preliminary results of the investigation only.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I think you may take it that the members of your commission must have certainly seen the British Guiana report. The position as regards the Dominican report is that the original report was not published, as the Government of the Dominican Republic wished it to be revised or edited in some respects. I think the editing is just about completed.

Mr. Warren: The editing has only recently been made, and it hasn't been practical as yet to reprint the report. There are certain deletions and amendments that are now acceptable to the Dominican Government.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I was just wondering whether the Dominican Government would like the report to be circulated in a corrected form for the confidential information of the Committee.

Mr. Warren: It should be circulated only in confidence.

Sir Herbert Emerson: It seems to be that the cause of the Dominican Government should be obtained even to the confidential circulation of the report in a corrected form. It would be a pity to do anything unacceptable to the Dominican Government when it has been so liberal in placing facilities at the disposal of the investigating commission.

Mr. Taylor: I think it is only fair to the private organizations to say that they financed entirely the Dominican and Philippine reports, and I think very largely the British Guiana report, and there was a time when they felt that they had control over the issuance of those reports and wanted to have some information as to where they were going before they were issued.

Mr. McDonald: I recall that, but I think there would be no difficulty in getting their consent to the distribution of these reports.

Mr. Taylor: Not in this case, but there is still the desire to have the substance of the reports kept in confidence among the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I think they certainly ought to have the reports. I have given the reasons why these reports have not been circulated, and I think the Philippine report is only just ready.

Mr. Warren: I don't believe the Philippine Government has yet seen it in its printed form. We would have to check that first.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: The Philippine report will undoubtedly be very important for the Netherlands and I suggest that it be circulated.

Lord Winterton: Might I address a question to Mr. Taylor, the American delegation and the State Department?

I think we all of us, the delegations around this table, feel that your Government, or rather private organizations of this country, have taken a most prominent part, to which I just referred, in this investigation, and therefore it is right that we should have a very strong regard for the opinion which you might express on this point.

Would you hold the view, which I think certainly would be the view of my Government, that we should agree, assuming these settlement schemes can be carried out, which we hope will be the case within the next few months, that

first regard should be had to the position of the very large number of refugees in countries like Switzerland, Holland and Belgium? So far as we are concerned in the United Kingdom, as I indicated yesterday, I don't think I gave the figures, but I think we have something like 40,000 refugees in England at this time --

Sir Herbert Emerson: (interposing) I think it is about 50,000.

Lord Winterton: And my Government, as was stated by Sir Herbert yesterday, has believed that at any rate during the war it will be possible to find employment for the greater number of those people, and therefore the pressure upon us is not nearly as great as it is upon the neutral countries.

I don't know what the position of the French Government is in this matter, whether they would desire to avail themselves of any opportunities of settlement to reduce the number of refugees in their country, or whether they would be prepared as we are prepared to do in the case of our refugees, to retain them.

I will say that I ought to make it clear that I realize our position is very different from that of France, because you have a larger number of refugees, generally, than we have.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: The information that I got from my Government this morning shows that we

have about 60,000 German and Austrian Jewish refugees. I am told also that we have a Committee which is meeting every week and is doing about the work which your tribunals do, investigating and releasing a certain number of people. It intends to set them to work, but of course that work is rather slow because we must take into account the detail of giving adequate occupation to those people, and take consideration of the economic possibilities and the feelings of the population.

So I think that we are prepared to give any of those people who want to go to overseas countries permission to do so, and I feel that we would welcome that possibility.

Mr. Taylor: I think yesterday, in my remarks, I expressed the feeling that our short range activity should take into account the position of Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, with a view to relieving the pressure in those countries. That is the position of our government.

Lord Winterton: I think we are all in agreement around the table on that point.

Mr. McDonald: I might, though not a member of the committee, say that the private organizations which are responsible for carrying out the settlement schemes have clearly in mind the point which was made by the representative of Holland.

As a matter of fact, at the meeting in New York last Thursday, when the President's Advisory Committee met with

the Exploration Committee for the Philippines, the point was strongly put that if it were at all practicable it would be desirable to utilize from those three countries at the earliest possible moment, refugees who might be available for this project.

I merely wanted to point out that private organizations are fully cognizant of the need and are in agreement with the desirability of meeting that need at the earliest possible moment.

Lord Winterton: I venture to say that that is a very satisfactory situation. We are all in agreement on that point, and possibly when we meet next week it may be possible to make more definite announcements on the subject of these schemes as a result -- Mr. McDonald, perhaps I might break off and say that while you were out of the room I suggested and I think Mr. Taylor and the other delegates were in agreement, that we might utilize the next few days before the meeting of the conference next week, for private discussions between you and Sir Herbert on the subject of these settlement schemes.

Mr. McDonald: Yes, I had mentioned to Sir Herbert yesterday that I hoped he would be available in New York for informal, private conferences with the men who are directly responsible for these schemes, and that, as I think he stated, fitted perfectly into his own ideas.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I certainly contemplate that, and hope we shall have the opportunity and will be able to fix up dates and time.

Mr. McDonald: The people are all there, and you can begin as soon as you get to New York.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: May I ask one question? I understand we are all in agreement, but I don't know exactly on what point.

(Laughter).

Do I understand that we are in agreement that Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands, because of the pressure of the refugees, should have a prior choice as to settlement of refugees? In that case, with, say, 30 or 40 thousand refugees, that would probably not exhaust them for the next two or three years.

Lord Winterton: I must take the blame for not making the position clearer. I suggested that we were in agreement that prior consideration should be given to the claims of these three countries where the number of refugees is proportionately larger, I think, of the refugees that come within our category, than that of any other countries represented on the Committee.

As to whether or not, if all of those refugees were to be moved, the available places for the next two or three years for settlement would be taken up, I wouldn't like to express an opinion.

On the basis of the last year's work, I would say that we should be able to move them rather more quickly than that, assuming that the quota in the United States still will remain, which we have had in the past.

Sir Herbert could give some information on that. How many people moved out of Europe last year?

Sir Herbert Emerson: I cannot say off-hand how many moved out of Europe. I think the number that moved out of Germany was at least 150,000, and it might have been as much as 170,000.

I think all that you were contemplating, sir, was that as far as the private organizations responsible for carrying on these settlement schemes in the Philippines and The Dominican Republic were concerned, that they would pay regard to the conditions in Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, and indeed in other countries of refuge - they are not the only countries, Scandinavia has quite a number of refugees also - in carrying out their settlement schemes.

But I don't think it would be within the competence of this Committee to pass any formal resolution to that effect which would bind the private organizations in regard to the classes of refugees they may wish to settle in particular countries. And if I may say so, I think any formal resolution of that kind might lead to difficulties. Conditions may arise in which the plight of persons in Germany may be very bad indeed, and some of them may be able to get out of

Germany, and I don't think any private organization would wish to pass a resolution ruling such people out of account. I think they would probably find themselves in difficulties if they did.

I think all that is contemplated is that in the present circumstances we know that there are in certain countries of temporary refuge a large number of people who are not able to work, who are a great embarrassment to their Governments, and who may at the present time, under war conditions, be more easily removed to countries of permanent settlement, than other refugees, and that we would appreciate the fact, if private organizations in carrying out their settlement schemes, could pay special regard to the difficulties of those countries.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I don't recall that any words were used that might be interpreted to apply exclusively to Holland, Belgium and Switzerland.

Sir Herbert Emerson: That, I think, we want to avoid.

Mr. Taylor: I think we should not give the impression here that that is our intention.

Sir Herbert Emerson: No.

Mr. Taylor: Because that might be a violation of our mandate and it might be very unfair, as Sir Herbert says, to others who may be in distress.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I was thinking of the position of the private organizations who had to carry out the schemes.

Lord Winterton: I think perhaps my phrase "prior consideration" was not a very happy one. I wasn't suggesting we should pass a resolution, but I think we have in mind that we hope that private organizations in considering these settlement schemes would pay particular regard to the position in these smaller neutral countries where there are a large number of refugees. I think that that would meet with all of our approval.

Mr. Taylor: I think so.

Sir Herbert Emerson: That is really the position.

Lord Winterton: Ambassador, does that clear it up?

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: Completely. May I ask one more question. I suppose there are a good many refugees in those countries, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, France, United Kingdom, who are already on the list for coming to this country, and I don't doubt but what they must prefer to come to the United States than to Mindanao, or the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Taylor: That is true, and whenever they are reached, they will be received here, but they have to wait their turn.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: Yes. Can you tell me approximately how long in advance is that list booked, whether those people will have to wait one or two or three years?

Mr. Taylor: I don't know whether any one has the answer to that. I am informed by Mr. Moffat that there is

no guaranty, that each case will be considered on its merits as the time comes.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I think the emigration is going on continuously.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: I may be wrong, but I thought you had a general list of applications from which you took every year a certain number, so that the people at the bottom of the list had to wait one or two years.

Mr. Taylor: It is safe to say that the list as it stands today will require several years to be exhausted.

Mr. Pell: You understand, Mr. Ambassador, that the German quota applies to people who, a great many of them, are in France at the present time. They are leaving all the time.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: That work is progressing?

Mr. Pell: That work is proceeding.

Mr. McDonald: As I understand the quota numbers are assigned all over the world, and if everyone uses his quota number, then for instance if the people coming out of Germany continued at the same rate as before the war, then persons who had quota numbers in England or France or elsewhere would be reached relatively less soon; but if the people who have quota numbers in Germany are not able to use them for one reason or another because of money difficulties or otherwise, then presumably other portions of the world would receive

additional quota numbers sooner. So that it would not be possible for the department to indicate at what point any one individual would be reached on the list. Is that right?

Mr. Pell: That is my understanding.

Mr. McDonald: That is, in proportion as the flow of emigrants, with quota numbers from Germany lessens, then the flow from other parts of the world would be proportionately increased, do you see?

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: Yes.

Sir Herbert Emerson: If I may illustrate. What I understand to be the position in Great Britain, where there are certain refugees from Germany, whose quota numbers are being reached. Previous to the war - when the quota number of a refugee was reached, he had to leave Great Britain. Now I understand the policy is that he can leave or not, as he likes. No compulsion is going to be brought upon him to use his quota number and leave. But on the other hand, if he chooses to stay in England, rather than take his opportunity of going to the United States, that will imply no promise on the part of the British Government that he will be allowed to settle permanently in England. And it is possible that some of them will be willing to take their chances, and instead of using their quota to go to America, they may prefer to stay in England, at any rate for the duration of the war. That would relieve the pressure on the list.

On the other hand, there are a certain number leaving every week, I think, or at any rate every month, for America from England.

Mr. Taylor: That condition exists in the other countries that we have just named, including the Netherlands.

Sir Herbert Emerson: Yes.

Mr. Taylor: It would seem, Mr. Chairman, that our short range program is, except for those modifications which the war automatically imposes upon the activities of the Director, the same as it was before, and requires no resolution or formal action by the meeting, and it would seem to me, as you have said, that we are in agreement on the continuance, within the limits that conditions impose upon us, of our previous activities.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I made rather a distinction between the activities of the private organizations and the Committee. It will really be the private organizations who will carry out the settlement schemes and it will be they who will select the immigrants.

Lord Winterton: That, of course, is so, but we mustn't forget that it is one of the objects in the formation of the Committee to endeavor to find places of settlement.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I was thinking of the origin of the emigrants. What I had in mind was that from a practical point of view private organizations might be in a position to take refugees from anywhere, including a certain number who might be able to get out of Germany.

Lord Winterton: I think we are really in agreement - I agree with Mr. Taylor, I think we really needn't linger any longer on this Item 2 of the agenda. The position is very much the same as it was when we met in June, subject to the qualification, the changes, brought about by the war.

Should we then pass - I suggested that we should take these four items together. We haven't in fact discussed Item 3, and we might pass specifically to that.

It is:

"The question of whether or not the possibilities for individual immigration and either group or mass settlements so far developed are adequate to meet the problem".

I suppose really the answer to that is a somewhat short one, that we haven't got at this moment any more schemes of settlement, mass settlement, than we had at the time of the time of the June meeting. I don't think we could very well have had because I think we were handling just as much as we could do then with these various schemes in The Dominican Republic and elsewhere, and in regard to individual emigration, that is a question for the various countries, not only those represented on this committee, but other countries as well.

Do you have any statement to make on that item, Mr. Taylor?

Mr. Taylor: My feeling is that we will continue to explore and develop places for settlement as if the war had

not occurred, but of course subject to such conditions as the existence of war imposes upon us; and that there is no more than we can do about that item at the present moment. We are back where we were, and we will continue to make efforts to find places of settlement, and encourage the private organizations to do the same.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I think we appear to be definitely more advanced as regards to the Philippines and also, I gather, as regards settlement in the Dominican Republic. At our meeting in July we had no definite information, really, about the Philippines, and The Dominican Republic was still in the preliminary stage. I rather gather that possibly those schemes are now well within the bounds of practical experimental settlement.

Mr. Taylor: In discussing Item 3, we have in reality discussed Item 4 also, haven't we? There are no other schemes for mass settlement that I am aware of at the moment than those which we have already mentioned.

Sir Herbert Emerson: From time to time, possibilities have been mentioned of fairly large scale settlement in Ecuador, but I don't know how far they proceeded on this side.

Mr. McDonald: I may say, as far as Ecuador is concerned, that those projects were much discussed at the time when I was High Commissioner, back 3 or 4 and even 5 years ago, yes, 5 years ago. But to the private organizations

which have the responsibility, have had the responsibility, of financing and directing these settlement schemes, Ecuador has, for one reason or another, never made any very considerable appeal - no reflection upon the Ecuadorian Government, of course - but the difficulties inherent in settling any considerable number of people in Ecuador have seemed to the private organizations to be insuperable at the present time.

Lord Winterton: And as you say, Mr. Taylor, I don't think there are any fresh schemes for consideration by this conference.

Mr. Taylor: I know of none.

Lord Winterton: Shall we pass to item 5, the problem of financing immigration and settlement, including the possibilities of Government participation. My Government authorized me to make in June, and a similar statement was made by the Prime Minister, our Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, a statement to this effect:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have given very careful consideration to the serious situation which has come about. It is clearly necessary that large sums should be raised for the emigration of refugees but in existing circumstances it is impossible for the private organizations to find these sums in the measure requisite for a satisfactory solution of the problem. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have, therefore, reached the

conclusion that unless the work of the committee is to be seriously obstructed and the countries of refuge are to be left with large numbers of refugees who cannot be absorbed, it will be necessary to depart from the principle agreed unanimously at Evian, that no participating government would give direct financial assistance to refugees.

"His Majesty's Government are, for their part, examining the manner and extent to which private subscription to an international fund to assist in defraying the expenses of overseas emigration of refugees, might be encouraged by Government participation, possibly on a basis proportionate to the amount of private subscription, and I would earnestly invite my colleagues to lay these considerations before their Governments, and to communicate their views to me without delay. If other Governments are prepared to agree to this change in principle, and to cooperate in such participation, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will take the initiative in proposing a scheme for the purpose."

Well, we had answers, the Secretary of the Committee had answers, I think from two Governments. Do you remember, Sir Herbert? At any rate, it was certainly from the Norwegian Government, and I think there was one other.

The Norwegian Government expressed itself as favorable in principle to the proposal but for reasons that I mentioned yesterday, my Government can no longer maintain

that offer because of the financial needs of the war.

Mr. Taylor: I think the President touched on that in his remarks yesterday.

Lord Winterton: Yes, he did.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: The French Government is in the same position as the British Government, owing to our financial needs incident to the war.

Mr. Taylor: To discuss Governmental action is to assume, as you know, in this country, what Congress would do with such a question - and that, nobody knows. Therefore, it would be most unwise for anyone to undertake to speak with any assurance or authority on that subject.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: With regard to item 5 of the agenda, I understand that the Netherlands Government has not yet given its reply to the question which was raised at the July meeting of the Committee. I have now been instructed to inform you that the Netherlands Government must raise objections to any suggestions that the Intergovernmental Committee should abandon the adopted principle that immigration and settlement are to be financed from private sources only.

One of the arguments in corroboration of my Government's standpoint is that, should this principle be abandoned, such decision might have the effect that certain countries would be encouraged to cause the Committee's task to be extended to groups of their population. As my Government considers

such an extension of the Committee's activities undesirable, it wishes to see the policy of financing from private sources maintained.

On the other hand, the Netherlands Government is in principle not opposed to a moderate financial participation, but only if the following conditions are complied with:

1. Germany itself should participate financially;
2. Besides the Netherlands, other smaller countries taking part in the work started by the Evian Conference should participate financially;
3. Governmental participation should be conditioned on the extent in which assistance from private sources is given and will continue to be given.

The Netherlands Government, though declaring itself prepared to participate on the above basis, will not be in a position to state its definite standpoint until a concrete plan has been submitted to it.

Lord Winterton: I am in agreement with what Mr. Taylor said. I am, of course, only quoting the agenda which was prepared for this conference by the United States Government, and I think we may take it that the possibility of Government participation need not be further discussed at this meeting because the original offer which the British Government made, to be prepared to participate if certain conditions were fulfilled, no longer holds good because of the war. The French Government is in agreement with that.

True, Mr. Taylor has expressed the opinion which, if you will allow me to say so, no one could quarrel with, that it would be impossible at this period for anyone from this Government to commit Congress. Therefore, I think we need not discuss this matter further.

We have just heard an interesting discussion from our colleague from the Netherlands, but the conditions referred to in the instructions which he received do not now really arise.

I would suggest, gentlemen, if you will agree, that it would be interesting to hear from Mr. McDonald as to what the possibilities are of how the problem of financing the emigration and settlement stands at the present time, as far as his Committee is concerned, and also from Sir Herbert Emerson.

Mr. McDonald: Perhaps it would be better if Sir Herbert spoke first, because he has laid down certain general principles in recent public statements, which have very much impressed the private organizations in this country, and if he would reiterate those principles, then perhaps I might supplement it very briefly.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I have written a memorandum on the financial side of the problem (item 5 of the agenda) and this memorandum will be available for the officers (page 11⁹ infra). Meanwhile I may give the gist of it.

The position before the war was that with one or two exceptions, the burden of financing, the maintenance, emigration of refugees, and all other expenses, had fallen on the private organizations. I made an estimate of what assistance had been received from private sources, both in money and in kind, and I estimated that up to the middle of July, 1939, private sources had contributed at least 10 million pounds in cash, and about 5 million pounds in kind.

The private organizations were already feeling the strain very severely. While there was no real diminution in the amount of money they were receiving -- in fact, in some respects they were collecting larger sums than they had previously done -- on the other hand, their expenditure was continuously increasing, and it was increasing at a greater rate. The chief reason for that was contained in the figures I gave yesterday, that although 400,000 people left Germany since 1933, nearly 160,000 of them had still not found permanent homes or any permanent means of livelihood, and as a result the private organizations were called upon to an increasing extent to provide the maintenance for these people, and were unable in addition to provide the means necessary to emigrate.

That was the position before the war, and it was because of the increasing difficulties with which the private organizations were confronted that the proposal was put forward in the July session by the representative of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that some form of

governmental assistance should be devised. The basic principle of that assistance was that it should be proportionate to the amount subscribed from private sources and that it should be devoted to the specific purpose of emigration.

As the Chairman has said, the war has, of course, altered all that, and perhaps I may now read out what I have written in the memorandum about the effect of the war on the financing of emigration and settlement.

I say:

"It is understood that in view of the war His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom find it impossible to contemplate any new financial commitments which are not directly related to its prosecution, and that therefore they can not usefully proceed at present with the formulation of the scheme for financial assistance mentioned in the statement of the Right Honorable the Earl Winterton, M.P., which I reproduced in my memorandum. On the other hand, so far as refugees in England are concerned, it is hoped that the liberal policy adopted by the British Government will result in many of them becoming self-supporting, and will thus afford relief to the private organizations. In so far as it may be necessary to intern a certain number, they would be a charge on the State - and the same is presumably true of those that will be interned in France, I take it that if the State internes them, the State makes itself

responsible for their maintenance.

With regard to the trust fund which was formed for the relief of refugees from Czechoslovakia, it is understood that that fund will continue to operate, subject, of course, to such qualifications in its application as the war may make necessary."

Then I come to the question of private finance, about which I have said the following:

"In belligerent countries, and particularly in Great Britain and France, the war cannot fail to have the most serious effect on the extent to which private resources will be available for assisting the refugee problem. So long as the war lasts, there is no hope of a general appeal such as that made by Lord Baldwin being launched in those countries. The general feeling is one of determination to prosecute the war to a successful issue, and to devote private resources to this end. The fountain of charity will flow more freely, but the stream will be directed towards objects which are inseparably connected with the war, such as Red Cross activities, and there will be little, if any, disposition to divert assistance to other channels. Such help as is given will be of an individual character and small in amount. Moreover, the large changes which the war has already created in the circumstances of individuals, and the still greater uncertainty which it creates concerning the future, are very effective influences at the present time. These

considerations must inevitably bring practically to an end new contributions from the general public.

On the other hand, it is to be hoped that existing commitments will generally be honored, and that private individuals or groups of individuals who have given guarantees for the maintenance of refugees, whether adults or children, will continue to honor them, although cases will arise in which the guarantor is unable to do so owing to the change in his material circumstances."

I may say that so far in England there have been comparatively few cases in which guarantors have resiled from the guarantees they have given. That has been one very satisfactory feature of the past two months. It is particularly true of children, and of course most of the children who are now in England, and there are from 9 to 10 thousand of them, are being maintained by private guarantors. So far the war has not seriously affected that side of the problem.

But apart from that, there doesn't seem much hope, in fact there is practically no hope, that the general public will be either willing or able to subscribe as it has done in the past, towards refugee relief.

As far as one can see at present, similar considerations will affect the extent to which Jewish sources in Great Britain are willing or able to continue the very generous assistance they have given hiterto. It seems

probable that British Jewry, for instance, will regard it as their first duty to assist with their resources towards the prosecution of the war, and that they will take the view that they are not justified in accepting new commitments unless these can be shown to be directly relevant to the furtherance of the war. It seems probable that the efforts of Jewish communities in Great Britain and France will at best be restricted to the maintenance and support of the refugees at present in those countries, and to the provision within available resources of the costs of emigration for a limited number of individuals.

Little information has been received of the effect of the war on private contributions in neutral European countries of temporary refuge. The countries mainly affected are Holland, Belgium and Switzerland. It is to be apprehended that the private organizations of those countries will find it more difficult to raise the funds necessary for maintenance and support, and that they will have to ask for greater help from external bodies such as the Joint Distribution Committee, and, at the same time, to seek relief through emigration to countries of permanent settlement. It may be hoped that, in addition to the United States of America, the neutral countries, and in particular the Scandinavian countries, will maintain the splendid humanitarian traditions of the past.

Mr. McDonald: If you wish, I might supplement briefly what Sir Herbert has said.

First, I should like - I shouldn't like, but I must - to confirm his rather pessimistic estimate of the effect of the war on private resources for emigration purposes from the European countries. The British-Jewish groups have already indicated to the Jewish groups in this country that they will not be able to continue to contribute to overseas activities. Similarly, I am almost certain that in France and in the other countries contiguous to Germany, the Jewish organizations will be forced to take the same line, that is, as Sir Herbert has said, that their contributions can not go beyond the needs within their own countries and probably may prove to be inadequate for those limited purposes.

Hence, we reach the conclusion that private funds will be limited, if not exclusively, then nearly so, to those which can be raised in this country.

One other preliminary consideration. It is that the private funds from this country are already being more heavily drained, as Sir Herbert has said, by special conditions arising from the war. Hence the war normally will tend to reduce the private funds in this country available for emigration purposes.

There is just one possibility that that may ultimately change the conditions. If there should be organized in this country, and it is not yet in prospect and may never come to

be a reality, a great interdenominational war appeal such as we had during the World War when the Red Cross, the Knights of Columbus, the Catholics, and many others, were united in a great effort to raise many millions of dollars for relief in the war-stricken countries, irrespective of race and religion. In that event some relief might be given to the strain upon the Jewish organizations. But that is only a possibility and it may never become a reality.

With those preliminaries in mind, I think one could summarize the prospect of private financing in words something like these.

The only financing by private organizations in sight at the present time is that which will cover the cost of trial settlements in the two projects reported on yesterday, the Dominican Republic and the Philippines. It is hoped, however, that once the flow of settlers is started, certain resources of the refugees themselves, in funds supplied by relatives, will continue the flow of settlers beyond the trial numbers at the start; but thereafter we shall probably soon reach a point of cost beyond the capacity of private funds to meet.

And I should be derelict in my duty if I did not report to the Committee the strong feeling of the private organizations in this country that they can not, no matter what the necessity or the pressure, continue to bear indefinitely the full burden of emigration and settlement.

They just can not.

Sir Herbert has indicated that the private organizations have already provided, he estimates, approximately 15 million pounds, which is approximately \$75,000,000. That is really a very large amount of money to come from private organizations. If they were here speaking for themselves, they would, I think simply underline, perhaps more emphatically, the words which I have used.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: What period does this cover?

Mr. McDonald: From the beginning of the Hitler regime.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: From private organizations in this country?

Mr. McDonald: No, generally, including France, Great Britain, Holland, and so on.

Lord Winterton: Well, I don't know that we can carry the matter any further. We have heard two very interesting statements from the Director and from Mr. McDonald.

His Excellency Count de Saint-Quentin: On similar occasions yesterday and today, Sir Herbert Emerson told us of what the situation was in Great Britain, and, he added, presumably in France. I want to say, in every instance, "presumably" should be read "certainly". I take the opportunity of this remark to pay tribute to Sir Herbert for the very objective and illuminating manner in which he explained those difficult problems. I am also pleased to

express my high appreciation of the statements that Mr. McDonald made.

Lord Winterton: I should like to associate myself with what you have just said, Ambassador, and I think we might pay a tribute to the wonderful work on the part of the private organizations in all the countries in this great humane work.

Mr. Taylor: I am sure our Government would like to be associated with that thought, Mr. Chairman.

(Sir Herbert Emerson then presented memoranda pertaining to Items 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the agenda:)

ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA

THE PRESENT STATUS OF PLANS FOR SETTLEMENTMemorandum by the Director

At the session of the Intergovernmental Committee held in July 1939, the Director made a statement regarding the prospects of settlement in various countries. This statement is reproduced below, with such modifications as are necessary to bring it up to date.

British Guiana.

As regards British Guiana, the position is as follows. In pursuance of the offer made by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in November 1938 of facilities for the settlement of refugees in British Guiana, a Commission assembled at Georgetown, British Guiana, on February 14 and completed its report on April 19th of this year. The Commission was organized by President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees and included two representatives appointed by his Majesty's government and one by the Government of British Guiana. The Commission expressed the view that, while the territory is not an ideal place for refugees from Middle-European countries, and while it could not be considered suitable for immediate large-scale settlement, it undoubtedly possesses potential possibilities that would fully justify the carrying out of a trial settlement project in order to determine whether and how these possibilities could be realized. In particular,

it considered that in the area available for settlement there are soils suitable for permanent agriculture and natural resources which make possible a correlated industrial development, while climatic and health conditions are such that settlement by people of Middle European origin is feasible. At the same time, it made it clear that there were various questions which required clarification, and to which answers could only be given by means of a trial settlement on the spot. They therefore recommended that a number of receiving camps for trial settlement should be started, involving a population of 3,000 to 5,000 carefully selected young men and women and placed at properly chosen locations; that these trial settlements should be adequately equipped under competent leadership; and that they should contain a number of people with specialized training who would be capable of securing the necessary information and would also assist in making the settlements self-contained. It estimated the approximate cost of establishing and maintaining the trial settlements for a period of two years with a population of 5,000 people would be £ 600,000. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, after consideration of the Report of the Commission, has expressed itself in complete sympathy with the scheme of refugee settlement in British Guiana, and has stated its readiness to place very large areas at the disposal of private organizations for this purpose, and further, if the scheme

develops, to allow a large measure of autonomy in local government. It has also undertaken, when the stage of large scale settlement is reached, to provide arterial communications, on the understanding that the cost of settlement will be met from private sources.

The position as regards British Guiana is therefore, briefly, as follows: A Commission composed of highly qualified specialists has reported that the possibilities are sufficiently good to justify the carrying out of experimental settlements, and while it does not feel justified in giving any assurance as regarding the success of these, it does consider that, if they are successful, the ultimate prospect of the territory, as an area for settlement on a big scale, are very large. Before the outbreak of war, the organizations concerned had under consideration practical plans for trial settlement, and discussions were taking place with the British Colonial Office. The war has resulted in the indefinite postponement of the scheme.

The Dominican Republic

As regards the Dominican Republic, in pursuance of the very generous offer of the Dominican Government to admit one hundred thousand refugees, a Commission under the auspices of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees visited the Dominican Republic from March 7th to April 18th of this year. The Commission was

given active assistance by the Dominican Government and investigated seventeen tracts of land which had been indicated as available for settlement, a total area amounting to about 2,700,000 acres. Of this area some 2,150,000 acres are owned by the Government while about half a million acres are privately owned. It appeared that, if necessary, other areas adjacent to certain of the tracts could be made available for settlement. The Commission has reported that climatic conditions are favourable for colonists from Central Europe, and that health conditions are reasonably good. It found the soil in a number of tracts highly fertile and capable of producing a large variety of crops, for some of which there is a commercial demand. Valuable forest products are readily accessible in large volume. While the Commission did not find that the whole of the area suggested was suitable for early colonisation, it considered that it would be possible to settle approximately 29,000 families in certain specified areas on a subsistence basis. At the same time it stressed the fact that, before proceeding on a big scale with the plans for colonization, it would be necessary to carry out technical studies in topography, soils, drainage, agronomy, sanitation and forestplanning. It was recommended that the first step should be the establishment of pioneering groups of perhaps 200 or 250 persons each in camps similar to those of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the United States

Subsequently the Dominican Republic, as a first step towards the realization of her desire to accept substantial number of refugees, offered to receive immediately 500 families to be divided as follows:

- (a) Agricultural families with the parents between 25 and 30 years of age, adequate provision to be made for their long-term acquisition of suitable land.
- (b) Professional families, the parents ranging from 25 to 40 years of age.
- (c) Families adaptable to the development of various industrial and manufacturing enterprises.
- (d) Individuals of miscellaneous categories suitable to the needs of the Republic.
- (e) Children between the ages of 13 and 15, who would be wards of the Government for a period of two years, with the Government providing the resources for their maintenance, towards the end that they may be eventually integrated into the economic and agricultural life of the country.

It is understood that President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees has established a Committee to carry out negotiations with the representative in Washington of the Dominican Republic.

Although, therefore, large scale settlement must inevitably move slowly in the initial stages, it appears that a beginning of pioneer settlement can be made when a final agreement is concluded with the Dominican Republic

and the necessary funds are forthcoming.

Northern Rhodesia.

As regards Northern Rhodesia, a Committee was formed by the Emigration (Planning) Joint Committee of the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, an association which has its headquarters in London. It assembled in the Colony on March 29th and concluded its Report on June 1st. It was greatly assisted by the Government of the Colony, who made available the services of their Director of Agriculture and the Directory of Veterinary Services. The Commission found no serious climatic or physical obstacles to settlement, but considered that settlement should be limited only by economic factors. It recommended that the individual holdings should be sufficiently large to allow for subsistence with the addition of a small cash margin sufficient to repay over a long period advances made for settlement and to leave a small surplus for other expenses. It expressed the view that not more than 400 to 500 families could be settled over a period of years without disturbance of the economic system of the Colony, and it estimated that the cost of establishing a family and of maintaining it during an initial period would be from £ 1,000 to £ 1,500.

It would therefore appear from the Report of the Commission that this area is not suitable for large-scale settlement, and that the cost of individual settlement would be high. Even if immigration had otherwise been feasible,

the war will make the situation more difficult because of political considerations and of the distrust with which persons of German origin or nationality would be regarded.

ITEM 3 OF THE AGENDAMemorandum by the Director

The question whether or not the Possibilities for Individual Emigration and either Group or Mass Settlement so far Developed are Adequate to meet the Problem.

(1) As explained in a separate memorandum, the emigration of refugees from Greater Germany has outstripped the opportunities for permanent settlement, with the result that the number in countries of temporary refuge was continuously increasing. None the less, since 1933 approximately 250,000 had found permanent homes. At least ninety per cent of these had been placed by infiltration, and with the exception of Palestine, and to a lesser extent of the Argentine, there had been little group settlement on any considerable scale. Outside Europe, infiltration had been almost general, and there were few countries which had not received refugees in greater or smaller numbers. Some of these had already reached or were approaching the point of saturation, but even so, the flow of emigrants was not entirely stopped, since those refugees who were well established were often able to secure for their near relatives. The main places of settlement were the United States of America, Palestine, Australia and the countries of South America. The total rate of infiltration was not constant. For instance, several of the states of South America from time to time imposed

restrictions on immigration either by amendment of the law or by tightening up its administration. One reason for this was the fact that immigrants included a certain number of unsuitable persons, while, owing to the rush of refugees from Germany, the private organizations were not always able to organize or to finance emigration as thoroughly as was desirable. There were some opportunities for individual settlement which it had not been possible to utilize owing to difficulties of finance. The Government of Brazil, for instance, had made a very generous offer to receive 3,000 confessional Jews and 3,000 Catholics of semitic origin; but up to the commencement of the war it had not been possible to take advantage of this offer.

The general position previous to the war was one of uncertainty. Given orderly emigration from Germany, and the continuance of the generous policy shown by many countries, the problem was capable of solution within a reasonable period. There had, however, been no real mitigation of the disorderly and "brutal methods pursued by Germany, and there was a very definite threat of their extension to Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. There was also no guarantee that various countries could continue to absorb refugees at the same rate. There was also the danger of outbursts of antisemitic feeling which would check, if not stop immigration. It was therefore necessary to explore the possibilities of settlement on a large scale in order, first to relieve the

growing pressure on countries of temporary asylum, and secondly, to ensure against contraction of the openings for individual settlement.

(2) The war has very materially changed the position. The problem of direct emigration from Germany is likely to be in abeyance. The immediate problem is one of re-emigration from countries of temporary refuge. It may be that, so far as Great Britain and France are concerned, the problem of re-emigration may prove not to be so urgent as before the war, and that the Governments of those countries may be able to place in useful employment many of their temporary visitors. It may, however, be assumed that the neutral countries of Europe will wish to be relieved as early as possible of a serious embarrassment, that they will be unable to allow refugees in any large number to seek employment, and that in the interests of the Governments concerned and of the refugees themselves, it will be desirable that permanent places of settlement should be found as rapidly as possible.

While the war has reduced the size of the problem coming within the present scope of the Committee's activities it seems inevitable that it will also reduce the number of openings for emigration previously available. The belligerent countries will now have to give first and foremost consideration to political factors, and to determine question of immigration into their territories with primary reference

to the effect it may have on the general situation. In so far as emigration may still be possible, considerations of safety may be expected to prevail, and one may anticipate that the selection of immigrants of German origin or nationality will have to be carried out far more rigorously than before the war. It may not be possible for them to determine the general lines of policy at once, and in any case they would be liable to modification.

(3) So far as neutral countries of permanent settlement are concerned, it may be hoped that circumstances will not arise which will make it necessary to restrict the generous policy they have hitherto pursued, and that they may be able even to extend the openings previously available. Should this prove to be the case, a large measure of success can be achieved in finding at least a war-time solution of the problem of refugees from Greater Germany, as it has been modified by a state of war.

ITEM 4 OF THE AGENDAMemorandum by the Director

POSSIBILITIES OF LARGE-SCALE SETTLEMENT IN AREAS ALREADY
CONSIDERED ON IN OTHER AREAS.

In the Memorandum relating to the second item on the agenda prospects have been stated of large-scale settlement in areas which have already been investigated. With regard to other possibilities for large-scale settlement, several factors have to be considered before a country can be regarded both as suitable and available. Political considerations have an important bearing on the question. There are some countries which are *prima facie* suitable for settlement on a considerable scale, but are either unwilling to receive refugees, or are willing to receive them in limited numbers or by infiltration. Unless there is a change of policy on the part of the Governments concerned, the possibilities must be regarded as too vague for practical purposes. There are other countries which must be clearly ruled out of account for climatic reasons. There are again others in regard to which there has been no final statement of policy, and which might be willing to receive refugees in considerable numbers if it were possible to place before them well considered schemes which would be assured of adequate finance. For the present purposes it will probably be sufficient to confine attention to possibilities which previous to the war were sufficiently tangible to merit further investigation.

(a) A preliminary enquiry has been carried out into the possibilities of permanent settlement in an island of the Philippines. It is understood that further enquiry will be necessary before definite plans can be formulated.

(b) There has been reason to suppose that the Government of Ecuador would be favourably disposed towards the settlement of refugees if a satisfactory scheme were placed before them. An accredited representative visited London a few months ago, when he discussed with the High Commissioner of the League of Nations and private organisations various proposals for settlement. Later, on his return to Ecuador, he asked the High Commissioner to arrange for a representative of the private organisations to confer with the Settlement Committee that was to be set up. The Ministry for the Colonies and the Central Bank of Ecuador were to have representations on this Committee. The scheme was said to contemplate the settlement of 10,000 families. The matter was referred through the British Emigration Planning Committee to the President's Advisory Committee for Political Refugees, and it is not known what progress has been made. While it is open to doubt whether the proposals so far made on behalf of the Ecuador Government are suitable, and in particular, whether the lands proposed for settlement are, from the point of view of climate, accessibility and communications, capable of colonisation by Europeans, there is reason to believe

that direct negotiations with the Government of Ecuador might be successful in attaining a practical scheme, if the finance of such a scheme were assured.

(c) From time to time suggestions have been made for colonisation in various states of South America, some of which have taken a large number of refugees by infiltration, e.g. Paraguay, Bolivia and Chile. It has not been possible for financial reasons to put before the Governments of these states self-contained schemes which would admit of the settlement of considerable numbers.

(d) With the approval of the French Government, an investigation was being made of the possibilities of settlement in New Caledonia, but this had not proceeded sufficiently far for an opinion to be formed regarding the prospects.

The above was the position at the end of August. It is inevitable that the war should raise new considerations. Most Governments will wish to review their previous policy regarding entry into their own territories. Again, while the emigration of persons of German origin or nationality into some countries might be desirable in normal times, it may raise political issues during a state of war. It is not possible at present to make any estimate of value of the prospects of large-scale settlement in any country.

ITEM 5 OF THE AGENDA.Memorandum by the Director

The Problem of Financing Emigration and Settlement, including the Possibilities of Governmental Participation.

I. The Position previous to the War.

1. The methods of financing the refugee problem previous to the war were described by me in a memorandum written about the middle of July 1939, which I handed over to Mr. Wohlthat. This is reproduced below, with a few verbal amendments.

A.Governmental Assistance.

The emigration of refugees from Czechoslovakia has been largely financed from the gift of £4,000,000 made by the British Government. The Belgian Government has undertaken the maintenance of 3,000 of the refugees who had been given temporary asylum in that country. The Dutch Government has undertaken the construction of a central training camp at large cost for the training and accommodation of a large number of refugees who have similarly received temporary asylum. For the rest, governmental assistance has been practically confined to the expansion of the necessary administrative services

to deal with immigration into their countries, and the grant of facilities for training camps and for housing accommodation on Government property or in Government buildings. Where emigration has been to countries of permanent refuge, e.g. British colonies, some expansion has been necessary of administrative services.

The British Government has accepted the contingent and very large liability for the provision of arterial communications in British Guiana when immigration there reaches the state of large-scale settlement.

B.

Liabilities for
which private bodies
are responsible.

Apart from the above, and the resources which refugees have themselves been able to provide, the finance of the movement has depended on charitable funds from private sources. These have had to finance, wholly or in part, expenditure on the following objects:

- (1) Relief in the country of origin.
- (2) Relief and maintenance in the countries of temporary refuge.
- (3) The cost of training.
- (4) Relief and maintenance in countries of permanent refuge for those who cannot at once earn their own livelihood.

(5) Expenses of transport, visas, etc. to countries of refuge.

(6) Expenses connected with the permanent settlement of refugees, whether by individual or group settlement.

(7) Overhead expenses.

There are hundreds of organizations working in various countries - Jewish, non-Jewish, and non-sectarian. Some are concerned only with the raising and allocation of funds; others are concerned purely with executive work and get the necessary funds from the financing organizations; others again combine the two functions. In England, for example, there is, apart from the large central organizations, a large number of local committees which raise the whole or part of their funds by local appeals. The same is the case in other countries.

There is another method of charitable contribution which, while it cannot be assessed accurately in cash, represents a very large sum, namely, the system of private hospitality, by which a family, a group or families, or a small committee accepts financial responsibility for the support and maintenance of individual refugees, and also in some cases the liability for the expenses of emigration. Many gifts have also been made in kind.

There are very few organizations at present with

independent finance which are concerned solely or even mainly with emigration and settlement.

Among these may be mentioned the following:

(1) The Jewish Colonisation Association (J.C.A.)

This administers a trust fund created some years ago for the purpose of the colonisation of Jews. Under the terms of the Trust the capital cannot be expended. The income is available for the colonisation of Jews in general, and during recent years a large part of it has been used for the colonisation of migrants from German territory, especially in South America. It has spent approximately £900,000 in connection with German refugees, of which about £800,000 has been spent on emigration and settlement.

(2) The Jewish Agency for Palestine.

The Jewish Agency has a branch known as the Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews in Palestine. Up to the end of 1938 the Bureau had spent approximately £1,000,000 directly for this purpose. Large sums have been spent indirectly for the same purpose by the Jewish Agency.

(3) The Refugee Economic Corporation of America.

This was formed in 1934, and up to the middle of 1938 about £50,000 of the authorised capital had been subscribed. The Corporation has financed the requirements of a number of individual settlers.

(4) The Plough Settlement of Kenya.

The subscribed capital of £10,000, the authorised capital £25,000. The Corporation has financed the settlement of a certain number of refugees in Kenya.

Among the organizations which are concerned with maintenance and relief as well as with emigration and settlement, the following may be mentioned:

(1) The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

This Committee was formed in 1914, and throughout the war and in the year following it did relief work of enormous value in the countries of Europe. It is financed by private charity in the United States of America and Canada, where an annual appeal is made for funds. I have not the figures for total expenditure up-to-date. But up to the end of December 1937 it had received and spent approximately £18,000,000. Of late years a considerable part of its income has been spent on work connected with refugees from German territory. A good deal of its work is done through direct agency, but it also grants very liberal subsidies to many organisations. Since 1933 it has spent more than £2,000,000 in connection with German migrants. Its yearly expenditure on this work has increased from approximately £80,000 in 1933 to £540,000 in 1938. During the first five months of 1939 it has already spent nearly as much as it did during the whole of 1938, and its budget for 1939 is based on a programme of £1,600,000.

(2) The Council for German Jewry.

This body was established in 1936 in order to organize support by the principal Jewish communities of the world for the emigration and training of German Jews. It took over most of the activities of the Central British Fund for German Jewry, which was formed in 1933 and was a purely British association. A general appeal has been made each year since 1933, except in the year 1937, in which no appeal was made since a special appeal was made in the previous year. Associated with the appeals of the Council there has been a Women's Committee, which has issued an appeal each year for women and children refugees. The total sum raised since 1933 amounts approximately to £2,750,000. The greater part of this has been spent assisting emigration through grants to various associations.

(3) The leading Jewish organisation in Holland, namely the Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen has collected approximately £400,000 since 1933, of which rather more than £50,000 has been spent on emigration, the rest being required for the maintenance of refugees inside Holland.

Other organisations which have collected substantial sums are:

The Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe	£80,000
The Society of Friends, Germany Emergency Committee	£59,000

International Hebrew Christian Alliance	£25,000
Verband. Schweiz. Israel. Armenpflegen	£121,000
Schweizer. Hilfswerk fur Emigrantenkinder	£30,000

Of the general appeals not sponsored by any specific organisation, special mention may be made of the Baldwin Appeal, to which subscriptions have been made exceeding £500,000

Figures are available for a few only of the many hundreds of small organisations that have made appeals. In the aggregate the sum collected by them has been large.

It is possible to make only a rough estimate of the total receipts of the charitable organisations. Their collections may be put at a minimum of £10,000,000 in cash. Taking into account the cost of hospitality, gifts in kind etc., the total contribution is not less than £15,000,000, and may be considerably higher.

By far the greater part of this amount has been subscribed by the Jewish community through successive appeals made by a number of organisations.

2. In addition to the above organisations, mention must be made of the Co-ordinating Foundation, a Trust Company registered in London with a capital of £200,000. The aims and objects of the Foundation have been stated in a very wide and general form. It was anticipated that the main function of the Foundation would be to act as

a link between the private organisations and the Internal Trust when established in Germany and that, in particular, it should act as the purchasing agency mentioned in the Confidential Memorandum communicated to Mr. Rublee. It was not intended that the Foundation should directly finance emigration, but its aims include the conduct of negotiations with Governments and private bodies for the purpose of furthering the permanent settlement of refugees. Proposals had in fact been made to Mr. van Zeeland, President of the Foundation, and its chief executive officer, that it should take up discussions with various Governments regarding the admission of refugees. The war prevented effect being given to these proposals, which are at present in abeyance.

3. Previous to the war the financial position was, briefly, as follows: With slight exceptions the whole burden of financing the movement was being borne by the private organisations. The non-Jewish organisations were reaching the end of their resources and were in fact unable to provide for the contingent liabilities which they had accepted regarding the emigration of refugees in temporary countries or refuge. The position of the Jewish bodies was increasingly difficult. Although private contributions had tended to increase, the growth of expenditure was greater than the growth of resources. This was due to the ever increasing number of refugees in countries of temporary refuge inside

and outside Europe who were dependent for their maintenance and support on private charity. As a result the organizations were finding it increasingly difficult to finance existing commitments, and were unable to provide the funds on a sufficient scale necessary to finance emigration. Their policy was inevitably a hand-to-mouth one, and they were unable to take a long view of the situation or to present to countries of permanent settlement fully considered schemes, backed by adequate finance over a term of years, which might offer an inducement to them to pursue a more liberal policy. At the same time, the Governments of those countries which had given temporary asylum to large numbers of refugees found themselves in a position of growing embarrassment. There was a lag between admission of refugees and their emigration and, as the number of alien Jews increased, the dangers grew of antisemitic feeling.

4. It was in these circumstances that, at the meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee held in London in July 1939, the Right Honourable the Earl Winterton M.P., Chairman of the Committee, made the following statement as Representative on the Committee of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom:

"In the very interesting and comprehensive report which he has made to the Committee, the Director has drawn attention to two most important and disquieting factors in

the existing refugee situation. The first is the very large number of refugees who are now in the countries of refuge and who cannot possibly remain in them indefinitely. I have today circulated to the Committee a memorandum in which it is estimated that there are now 40,000 refugees in this country, of whom at least half, if not more, must eventually be re-emigrated. The Committee knows that in the other countries of immediate refuge, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Denmark, thanks to the very generous policy of the various Governments, there are many thousands of refugees who have been admitted to those countries, but who cannot settle permanently in Europe. Sir Herbert Emerson estimated that there are 150,000 refugees from Greater Germany in other European countries, and that approximately 60,000 of these are wholly or partly dependent on the charity of the private associations.

2. "This leads me to the second disquieting factor in the situation, namely that of finance. The vast number of refugees who must be supported in the countries of refuge are proving a very heavy burden to the private organisations which have hitherto borne the cost of their maintenance. So heavy is the burden that the private organisations are finding it exceedingly difficult to make any large payments for the permanent settlement of refugees either by infiltration or group settlement. The result is a vicious

circle. No long term policy of financing emigration overseas is possible because the burden of maintenance in countries of refuge is crippling the resources of the private organizations, while the cost of maintenance cannot be reduced so long as the rate of emigration overseas is inferior to the rate of immigration into countries of refuge from Germany.

3. "The result is that we are now faced with the possibility of a serious interruption in the procedure regarding refugees which has been adopted by the Governments of the countries of refuge. The voluntary organisations in those countries have accepted responsibility for many thousands of refugees in the expectation that they would be able to emigrate within a fairly short time. This expectation has not been fulfilled to anything like the extent anticipated, and the voluntary organisations are left with financial commitments which are so heavy that it is difficult to see how they can be met. Thus they are unable to undertake any further commitments for the constructive expenditure which is essential if the rate of emigration overseas is to be maintained or increased.

4. "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have given very careful consideration to the serious situation which has come about. It is clearly necessary that large sums should be raised for the emigration of refugees but in

existing circumstances it is impossible for the private organisations to find these sums in the measure requisite for a satisfactory solution of the problem. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have therefore reached the conclusion that unless the work of the Committee is to be seriously obstructed and the countries of refuge are to be left with large numbers of refugees who cannot be absorbed, it will be necessary to depart from the principle agreed unanimously at Evian, that no participating Government would give direct financial assistance to refugees.

5. "His Majesty's Government are, for their part examining the manner and extent to which private subscription to an international fund to assist in defraying the expenses of overseas emigration of refugees might be encouraged by Government participation, possibly on a basis proportionate to the amount of private subscription, and I would earnestly invite my colleagues to lay these considerations before their Governments and to communicate their views to me without delay. If other Governments are prepared to agree to this change of principle, and to cooperate in such participation, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will take the initiative in proposing a scheme for the purpose."

2. The effects of the War on the Finance of Emigration and Settlement.

Governmental Assistance.

It is understood that in view of the war His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom find it impossible to contemplate any new financial commitments which are not directly related to its prosecution, and that therefore they cannot usefully proceed at present with the formulation of the scheme for financial assistance mentioned in the statement of the Right Honourable the Earl Winterton, M.P., reproduced above. On the other hand, so far as refugees in England are concerned, it is hoped that the liberal policy adopted by the British Government will result in many of them becoming self-supporting, and will thus afford relief to the private organisations. In so far as it may be necessary to intern a certain number, they would be a charge on the state, and the same is presumably true of those interned in France. It is understood that the Trust Fund which has been constituted by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to assist refugees from Czecho-Slovakia, until such time as the balance of the British loan becomes available, will continue to operate, subject of course to such modifications in its application as the war may make necessary.

Private Finance.

In belligerent countries, and particularly in Great

Britain and France, the war cannot fail to have the most serious effect on the extent to which private resources will be available for assisting the refugee problem. So long as the war lasts there is no hope of a general appeal such as that made by Lord Baldwin being launched in those countries. The general feeling is one of determination to prosecute the war to a successful issue, and to devote private resources to this end. The fountain of charity will flow more freely, but the stream will be directed towards objects which are inseparably connected with the war, such as Red Cross activities, and there will be little if any disposition to divert assistance to other channels. Such help as is given will be of an individual character and small in amount. Moreover, the large changes which the war has already created in the circumstances of individuals, and the still greater uncertainty which it creates concerning the future are very effective influences at the present time. These considerations must inevitably bring practically to an end new contributions from the general public. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that existing commitments will generally be honoured, and that private individuals or groups of individuals who have given guarantees for the maintenance of refugees, whether adults or children, will continue to honour them, although cases will arise in which the guarantor is unable to do so owing to the change in his material

circumstances.

Similar considerations will affect the extent to which Jewish sources are willing or able to continue the very generous assistance they have given hitherto. It seems probable that British Jewry, for instance, will regard it as their first duty to assist with their resources towards the prosecution of the war, and that they will take the view that they are not justified in accepting new commitments unless these can be shown to be directly relevant to the furtherance of the war. It seems probable that the efforts of the Jewish communities in Great Britain and France will at best be restricted to the maintenance and support of the refugees at present in those countries, and to the provision within available resources of the costs of emigration for a limited number of individuals.

Little information has been received of the effect of the war on the private contributions in neutral European countries of temporary refuge. The countries mainly affected are Holland, Belgium and Switzerland. It is to be apprehended that the private organisations of those countries will find it more difficult to raise the funds necessary for maintenance and support, and that they will have to ask for greater help from external bodies such as the Joint Distribution Committee and, at the same time, to seek relief through emigration to countries of permanent

settlement. It may be hoped that, in addition to the United States of America, the neutral countries, and in particular the Scandinavian countries, will maintain the splendid humanitarian traditions of the past. (memorandum ends)

Lord Winterton: Well, gentlemen, there remains the last item on the agenda, and I would wish to submit to my colleagues a suggestion on that point. The last item of the agenda, taken in conjunction with the President's emphatic reference in his speech yesterday, and the subject matter of it, raises questions of great importance and magnitude as I said yesterday. It is so important that I would like to requote to my colleagues what the President has said in connection with this Item 6:

"I have suggested that the current task is small in comparison with the future task. The war will come to an end some day; and those of us who are realists know that in its wake the world will face a refugee problem of different character and of infinitely greater magnitude.

"Nearly every great war leaves behind it vast numbers of human beings whose roots have been literally torn up. Inevitably there are great numbers of individuals who have lost all family ties -- individuals who find no home to return to, no occupation to resume -- individuals who for many different reasons must seek to rebuilt their

lives under new environments.

"Every war leaves behind it tens of thousands of families who for very many different reasons are compelled to start life anew in other lands.

"Economic considerations may affect thousands of families and individuals.

"All we can do is to estimate on the reasonable doctrine of chances, that when this ghastly war ends there may be not one million but ten million or twenty million men, women and children belonging to many races and many religions, living in many countries and possibly on several continents, who will enter into the wide picture -- the problem of the human refugee.

"I ask, therefore, that as the second great task that lies before this Committee, it start at this time a serious and probably a fairly expansive effort to survey and study definitely and scientifically this geographical and economic problem of resettling several million people in new areas of the earth's surface."

My Government would wish to give most complete and sympathetic consideration to any proposals made by the United States Government in this connection. But they would have to be considered, if justice is to be done, in a concrete form. I therefore invite the American delegation, if they would be good enough to do so, to prepare a draft

of these proposals. It ought then, I submit, to be considered by our expert advisers in consultation with our Acting Secretary, Mr. Morris, because the question of the constitution of the Committee must inevitably arise, and they will have to consider what change, if any, would be necessary to give effect to any proposals made. Then we could meet in conference next week to hear their report. Even so, we might very likely have to consult our Governments before we can make a recommendation to the whole Committee.

In suggesting this course, I am most anxious to avoid giving the impression of wanting to delay a decision. On the contrary, I feel, both as Chairman and as the United Kingdom representative, that in courtesy alike to the President and to our hosts, the United States Government, we ought to give immediate and complete consideration to any proposal made so that the decision may be reached at the earliest possible time; but I think the procedure suggested will most effectively achieve this result.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, we are very sympathetic with the suggestion which you have made that the discussion of this matter, Item 6, be postponed until the meeting of next week, and that in the interim a technical committee be set up and have its report ready for next Wednesday or Thursday, whichever day you appoint for the meeting. I

think that a technical committee made up of representatives of the Government that are participants in this conference, will be able to clear away a great many uncertainties and produce something that will be useful and constructive for our consideration at that time. It seems to me that to engage in a discussion of it in advance of that would lead us down perhaps many wrong paths that we could very easily avoid by the other procedure.

The Honorable Dr. Loudon: May I ask one thing more? I have been instructed by my Government that, under the present circumstances, they do not consider it advisable to extend the scope of the Committee because this might lead to consequences which, owing to the war, cannot be foreseen. This instruction, of course, was received before I listened to the speech of the President of the United States. Now, if we are going to discuss the report of a technical committee next week, I would very much appreciate it if it could be arranged to have the report circulated one or two days before the meeting will take place in order that I may, if necessary, ask my Government for instructions.

Mr. Taylor: Could not the Technical Committee meet on Friday of this week?

Lord Winterton: Certainly, Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Taylor: That would allow adequate time.

Lord Winterton: I should also like to consult my

Government similarly.

(The delegates present nominated their representatives to sit on the Technical Committee).

(After a discussion of a communiqué to be issued to the press by the Intergovernmental Committee, the meeting, at 1:15 o'clock p.m., was adjourned until 3:00 o'clock p.m., Thursday, October 26, 1939).

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The text of the communiqué is as follows:

Upon the invitation of President Roosevelt the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee met at the White House on October 17, 1939. The Secretary of State opened the second meeting at the Department of State on the afternoon of October 17 and a third meeting was held on the morning of October 18 when the Committee adjourned until Thursday, October 26, 1939. Those who attended the meeting included Lord Winterton, Chairman and Paymaster General in the British Government; Sir Herbert Emerson, Director; the Honorable Myron C. Taylor, Vice-Chairman representing the United States of America; His Excellency Felipe Espil, the Argentine Ambassador; His Excellency Count de Saint Quentin, the French Ambassador; His Excellency Mr. Carlos Martins, the Brazilian Ambassador; Dr. A. Loudon, the Netherlands Minister; and Mr. James G. McDonald, Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees.

The meeting, at the second session, heard a report on the current refugee situation by the Director and discussed the various ways in which the refugee problem might be met. Particular attention was given to the new aspects of the situation due to the outbreak of war.

At the third session, the officers discussed what President Roosevelt had described in his opening statement as the "shortrange problem", including the problem of emigrating those individuals and families who are at this moment in countries of temporary refuge and who, for the sake of the world and themselves, should be placed in permanent domiciles as rapidly as possible.

The meeting was of the opinion that this problem could still best be solved partly by infiltration, that is individual immigration, and partly by an initiation of settlement projects. The meeting took note, with particular satisfaction, of the fact that the Dominican Government, with great foresight and generosity, had responded to the appeal of the Intergovernmental Committee for opportunities of settlement. The meeting also heard with satisfaction that the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines had responded in a similar manner. Mr. McDonald reported that engineering and economic studies had recently been completed and that practical steps, including financing, in the initiation of settlement were being taken.

The meeting was informed that similar studies in other areas would be undertaken promptly.

The Committee also took note of the fact that the Coordinating Foundation, whose Executive President, Mr. Paul van Zeeland, will be present at the meeting next week, is mandated to work with individuals and organizations to investigate the suitability of places of settlement and future resettlement plans.

A tribute was paid by the meeting to the unstinted generosity over a period of years of the private organizations.

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CONFERENCE of OFFICERS
of the
INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

State Department,
Washington, D. C.
October 26, 1939 - 3 p.m.

PRESLNT

(Same as noted for the October 18, 1939,
meeting, except:

Dr. Carl Bruggmann, Minister of Switzerland - Not Present

Hon. Paul van Zeeland, President, Coordinating
Foundation - Present.

Lord Winterton: Gentlemen, the sitting of the Conference is resumed. The first item on our agenda of today is to have the letter from the Dominican Government to the Dominican Corporation read.

Mr. Pell: Mr. Warren has the text.

Lord Winterton: I suggest it be placed in the record. Mr. Warren has copies of the letter for distribution.

Mr. Warren: I might summarize it for you very briefly. It reviews the history of the negotiations, starting with the original creation of the Inter-Governmental Committee, and then outlines the various conditions which the Dominican Government has accepted in anticipation of the organization of a corporation which will undertake the settlement of refugees. The conditions are very generous and very broadly stated, and in effect form the basis of what will later become a specific contract between the corporation to be formed and the Dominican Government.

The proposal is to undertake a trial settlement of 500 families in the first instance. Briefly, those immigrants recommended by the corporation will be exempt from the existing \$500 head tax; that their goods, chattels, tools and equipment will be admitted free; they will be treated as citizens and will be enabled to acquire citizenship within two years. The funds for the initial settlement have already been made available.

Lord Winterton: Gentlemen, Your Excellencies, it gives me great pleasure to learn of the progress that has been made in this scheme. I think we all hope it will prove to be a great success. I take it we all agree that this letter should be placed on the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

Office of the Dominican Legation

October 25, 1939.

Mr. George L. Warren, Secretary

President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees,
122 East 22nd Street,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Warren:

It gives me great pleasure to hand you herewith a duplicate of the letter which I have today delivered to Mr. James N. Rosenberg at the luncheon at which you, he and I have participated.

I take this occasion to express the deep appreciation of my government for your splendid cooperative efforts in the many conferences which we have had, and for the valuable cooperation which we have had from the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, particularly of Mr. McDonald, its Chairman and of yourself, its Executive Secretary. It is needless for me to say that in the practical work of the plans which we have now agreed upon, my government and I personally are counting on the active cooperation of the President's Advisory Committee and especially on

your continued and effective personal interest in this important undertaking.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) A. PASTORIZA

October 19, 1939.

Mr. James N. Rosenberg
New York City.

Dear Mr. Rosenberg:

When the President of the United States initiated the Evian Conference a year and half ago for the noble, humanitarian purpose of aiding the resettlement of refugees, the Dominican Republic informed Mr. Myron C. Taylor of its willingness to receive and give an opportunity for livelihood and permanent homes to 100,000 refugees; such refugees to come to our country over the course of such number of years as may be necessary to enable them to establish themselves soundly and permanently as useful and self-supporting citizens of the Dominican Republic. Practical progress along these lines has only recently become possible, following the creation of the Inter-Governmental Committee, and the steps which have been taken by the nations of the world which have participated in that movement. Following our announcement to Mr. Taylor, surveys as to economic, agricultural and other opportunities in the Dominican Republic have been made at the instance of the President's Advisory Committee on Political

Refugees and upon the completion of the surveys and the favorable reports which were made as to settlement possibilities in our country, we have entered into conversations with your colleagues and yourself which have led to a definite proposal from you and them making possible the beginning of the work of settlement as soon as all preliminary arrangements can be completed.

On Tuesday last, October 17th, President Roosevelt, in welcoming Lord Winterton, Chairman of the Inter-governmental Committee, and his colleagues, stated that "active steps have been taken to begin actual settlement made possible by the generous attitude of the Dominican Government". As you know, this statement has reference to the matters which have for some time been under discussion.

It need hardly be said that our government is deeply appreciative of President Roosevelt's statement. We wish, however, to make it clear that the government of the Dominican Republic is not actuated only by humanitarian impulses, but by a realization that just as the United States has been built into a great nation through emigration of hardy and useful settlers and pioneers, so we in our country also recognize the need and desirability of having such pioneer refugees settle and take part in the constructive progress of our country, which has been rapid and sound during the last decade. In our various conversations with Mr. George L.

Warren, Executive Secretary of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, yourself and your colleagues, we have all agreed that it is essential that such a settlement program should begin on a moderate scale and that it requires careful selection of the right kind of human material. Through the action of your colleagues and yourself, sufficient funds have now been allocated to make possible a beginning of this important project at an early date. Hence, it is appropriate that you should now have the following statement of the position of the Dominican Government which I have the honor to represent.

1.- Following the preliminary surveys made by the experts sent to my country by the President's Advisory Committee, my government invites further visits in order that fully detailed plans may be worked out with the utmost promptness.

2.- With the aid of the President's Advisory Committee and in cooperation with your colleagues and yourself, we propose that steps shall be taken overseas for the selection of a first unit of approximately five hundred refugee families, Jewish and non-Jewish. These refugee families are to be selected for their fitness in this pioneering work upon the soil which they will principally engage in, and also for their fitness in industry and production as well as in the necessary professional technical and skilled supplementation required for a balanced economy. In the discussions which

we have all had, there has been unanimity as to the wisdom of making a modest beginning with about five hundred families so as to avoid the pitfalls and dangers of initiating too large an undertaking at the outset.

3.- Through appropriate legislation, I am satisfied that my government will take such steps as to give adequate assurances that such settlers shall enjoy full civic, economic and religious rights, the same as are accorded to all citizens of my country; that they shall have the right after a reasonably brief period, say of two years, to acquire their naturalization in accordance with our laws. I beg to assure you that our government, which is keenly desirous of making this undertaking a milestone in the difficult refugee problems which confront the world, will take all appropriate steps to see to it that there shall be no discrimination against such settlers but that they shall be given an honorable, just and equal opportunity so that they may pursue their occupations and life free of molestation and persecution, and that our government will take appropriate steps to carry out such purposes. In conformity with these general statements, our government will be prepared to take steps so that settlers may be permitted to import, duty free, not for sale, but for their use on the soil, such tools, equipment, materials, etc. as may be needed to establish them as economically self-supporting.

4.- As a result of the discussions with you, and according to information received from you and your colleagues, it is contemplated that at an early date a corporation will be formed by your colleagues and yourself which shall at the outset receive a sufficient amount of paid-in capital as agreed upon, to initiate the undertaking along the lines above described. Such corporation will be permitted to maintain an office, and its representative, experts and others will be accorded full rights to fully conduct this enterprise within my country. Such corporation, as all other humanitarian enterprises in my country as well as the enterprises for agricultural colonization under the control of the Department of Agriculture, will be exempted from any taxes. We shall be glad, provided the State Department of your country agrees, to give its official representatives such diplomatic or quasi-diplomatic privileges as may seem advisable. It is to be understood that the corporation shall pay or provide all the expenses for the transportation of the proposed settlers, their landing and their care on arrival in my country. We recognize that temporary housing may have to be provided for such settlers. To that end, my government will allocate an adequate piece of land for the free use of the settlers for an initial, reasonable period of time until they shall find their permanent homes. We shall facilitate in every way the efforts of the corporation

to be formed, in the selection and erection of such suitable housing, which can be accomplished by use of material, largely if not entirely existent within my country. My government will also cooperate with the corporation for suitable employment of the settlers in agricultural work, road building and other similar activities, it being expected, however, that the bulk of these first settlers will engage in farming or in related enterprises. My government will also facilitate and aid in the transportation of the refugees to my country and in their reception and care upon their arrival, and in securing appropriate legislation to expedite the carrying forward of the project herein discussed by appropriate statutes as to emigration, labor and other laws assuring full civil and economic rights and safeguards. My government will also take appropriate steps to aid in the selection of suitable lands for agricultural purposes and for the acquisition of such lands by the corporation, either through lease or purchase at fair terms for the benefit of the settlers; and also the government will further be ready to enter into discussion with the corporation looking toward the giving of options to the corporation for larger adjacent suitable agricultural lands for later and greater settlement which is contemplated.

The question of unmarried young men and girls who are to come with this first group has been given much thought by

my government, and I am happy to say that I have been able to make satisfactory arrangements for them. It is my understanding that the corporation to be formed will bring a small number of such young people to my country, and will construct a suitable dormitory, school house and agricultural training grounds for their care, upkeep and education.

Through the intense humanitarian benevolent interest of a Dominican patriot, I am confident that arrangements will be made for financing the care of these young people for a period of two years so that they will be able to receive instruction in the religions in which they were born, as well as secular education which will fit them for citizenship in the Dominican Republic, and it is confidently hoped that the future will prove that they will turn out to be valuable acquisition to our future national life.

The corporation to be formed shall have by appropriate act of our government the right to purchase, lease, acquire or dispose of tracts of land, initiate industries, etc., provided such activities shall be in line with the general governmental policies of my country. We shall encourage the corporation to aid the establishment and development of industries; particularly at the outset, handcraft industries for the settlers.

The corporation is to have the right at its own expense to maintain an adequate, competent technical staff for the

guidance of the settlers.

The selection of the settlers shall be recommended by the corporation but subject to the approval of my government. The corporation is to make every effort to use in the development of its projects all material, equipment and manpower which may be available in my country and which shall be appropriate for its purposes. The corporation is to have the right to equip and maintain receiving and training camps for the settlers. Should the corporation acquire lands or properties, it shall have the right to lease, sell, sublease or otherwise cede any or all of such properties to the settlers on terms to be arranged between the corporation and the settlers. My government will, at all times, assist the corporation in the selection of all necessary tracts of land on fair and advantageous terms. The government will permit the settlers to form purchase, sale or credit group cooperatives along such lines as may not be inconsistent with our general governmental policies. The education facilities, both in school and university in my government, shall be available to the settlers on the same conditions as those which apply to all citizens of my country. The settlers shall have full right to the protection of our courts and of the other branches of my government, as have all other citizens of my country.

Based upon this letter, my government is prepared to

enter into a definite agreement with the corporation about to be formed. I understand that you will wish to submit any such proposed agreement to the President's Advisory Committee, to Mr. Myron C. Taylor and to the State Department of the United States for approval. This will be entirely satisfactory to the Dominican Government.

I close with the following statement:

If, with God's blessing, this initial undertaking, modest though it may be, can succeed, I trust that my country may have contributed, in collaboration with yours, to the solution of grave world problems by blazing a path, founded not merely on humanitarian principles, but on renewed recognition of the well established fact that the right kind of human material, given a fair opportunity, can and will become important elements in the upbuilding of countries of immigration. In his notable address on October 17th, President Roosevelt referred to the vast refugee problems which are daily being aggravated and increased by the exigencies of war and persecution; and to the vast numbers of human beings whose roots have literally been torn up. He pointed out that there are today, many vacant spaces on the earth's surface where, from the point of view of climate and resources, European settlers can live permanently. I trust that my country can do its share in pointing the way toward a wise, just and humane solution of these vast problems, so closely related to world peace. This

my country offers wholeheartedly to do. All the more important will it become that we proceed gradually, seeing to it, step by step, that healthy and sound progress shall be made.

With these thoughts in mind, I am glad that there has been full agreement in the conferences which have led to this letter on the point that the beginning must be on a modest scale. Later steps will depend on many considerations. I emphasize this point, about which we are in full agreement, because we realize that as soon as the work begins and shows progress, there are apt to be early and pressing appeals from unfortunate refugees for the further opening of our doors; appeals to which we shall not wish to be deaf, but which we can meet only in due time.

No other arrangements for settlement purposes will be made by my government excepting after conferences and consultations with officials of your organization.

Trusting that this effort which follows the noble initiative of the President of your country may meet with success, I am

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed)

A. PASTORIZA,
Andres Pastoriza,
E.E. and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Mr. Taylor: I think, Mr. Chairman, if I may say so, some special recognition should be given to Mr. McDonald and Mr.

Warren, and the private organizations who have financed and who have carried on this very important study with respect to Dominica. The names of the members of the Commission,— and the one who supervised its organization is Dr. Bowman,— should form a part of our record. Those names can be supplied hereafter, if you approve of my suggestion.

Lord Winterton: Should we place it in the record in form something like this, that the Conference hears the suggestion with great satisfaction, and then proceed to mention the names of those gentlemen who contributed to the success of the plan? If that is agreed to, then we will suggest that our Technical Committee, or our experts, draft the actual terms of the reference.

Sir Herbert has suggested to me privately that in that reference in our record we might also mention the Dominican Government.

Mr. Taylor: And General Trujilio.

Lord Winterton: I have the following statement to make in regard to the report of the Technical Committee:

The Technical Committee appointed by the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee for the purpose of preparing a draft communique to be issued after the fourth meeting of the officers scheduled to take place on October 26, 1939, respectfully submits the following text:

Communiqué

"The officers of the Intergovernmental Committee, at their fourth meeting at Washington, on October 26, 1939, recognized that there was an urgent need for further openings for the permanent settlement of refugees included within the present mandate of the Committee, and further recognized that, as the President of the United States of America pointed out in his inspiring statement of October 17, the problem of involuntary migration might be greatly increased. They considered it necessary that surveys should continue of all possible openings for the permanent settlement of involuntary migrants in various parts of the world, special regards being paid to the scope for the development of natural resources by engineering, irrigation, and similar schemes. While such surveys would have reference to the existing mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee, the meeting observed that the collection of material of this character would be of general value in contributing towards the solution of the refugee problem in its wider aspects, and would be of particular value to the Committee should it at any future time wish to increase the categories of involuntary migrants within its mandate.

"The meeting considered that the results of all surveys made either under the aegis of the Coordinating Foundation or by private organizations should be communicated to the

Director, and, at his discretion, to the participating governments."

Gentlemen, Your Excellencies, that proposed communique has been communicated privately to the heads of all delegations, and I take it we are in agreement that it should be adopted.

That then disposes of point 6 of the agenda.

We welcome here this afternoon Mr. Van Zeeland, who was prevented by untoward events in the Atlantic from getting here the other day, and I would invite Mr. Van Zeeland, if he will, to address the Conference.

(Applause.)

Mr. Paul Van Zeeland: Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen: There are many aspects of the refugee problem that are so familiar to you that it would be extremely difficult for a newcomer like myself to add any light to the problem. The matter, as I have seen it, has been fully covered and explained, and the situation fully reviewed in the notes which have been submitted to the Committee. It has been brought out in these notes that real and considerable achievements have already been realized in helping refugees to find new homes, and from a careful reading of the proceedings of your meeting of last week I have gathered the impression that your Conference has been able to effectuate a very good "mise au point" of the problem.

In spite of all that, I let myself be convinced that it would not be useless if I would sum up before you several of the reflections and temporary conclusions which I have been forming after the many contacts I have had on this question in the last period. Of course I will say nothing new, and you will probably think that I am repeating things that you know better than I do, but it seemed to me that it would be useful, in spite of that, for me to come before you and express the views that I have formed in a private capacity.

It appears to me that the problem is to be approached basically as a non-sectarian, non-racial, and non-discriminatory problem, and that the solution to be devised shall be open in the future as in the past to all refugees, irrespective of the cause of their migration.

The war, as has been so duly exposed to you, has brought many changes in the problem. The changes are such that nobody could, safely or accurately, forecast what will happen to this problem at the end of the war; but it seems to me that we can safely accept two views: one of immediate character, and another of long-range theoretical character.

First, that the problem is going on and that the search for a solution must be continued and pushed as strongly and as quickly as possible, and in this connection it becomes, besides your activity, the activity of the private organization and of the Coordinating Foundation.

Secondly, there is a fact that should not be overlooked, and which is, to a certain extent, new. It is that, on the one hand, the world has become legally occupied, and, on the other hand, that migrations of some kind, either purely voluntary, or under social pressure, or again under economic pressure, not to mention the political pressure, are a constant fact in history, and are probably a necessary element for the maintenance of a social and economic equilibrium in the world. If that is so, the necessity of devising ways and means for an orderly kind of migration is due to retain the attention of the leaders.

When it comes to the actual problem of refugees I maintain that it presents two different aspects which are, of course, closely related and which react upon one another, but which should be clearly distinguished. The first is the problem of upkeep, maintenance, and relief of the refugees in the way of migration, and the other is the definite settlement of the refugees in new, permanent conditions of life.

Of course the necessity of keeping alive the refugees in migration until they are definitely established cannot be disputed in any way, but let us not forget for a moment that if a constructive scheme for a new, permanent settlement on a certain scale would receive an actual beginning of execution, the prospects opened by it would react so as to facilitate the actual solution of many questions concerning the relief

and the transitory asylum of the refugees.

Not being mandated to speak for my country here, I will just say, in passing, that it covers the question which you have, in my opinion, very clearly covered, I mean the special situation of the small neutral countries in Europe such as Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and Belgium, where so many temporary refugees are waiting for a definite solution of their difficulties.

So we come to the necessity of expediting the definitive settlement of the refugees. The pressure is such that no method whatsoever, small or large, quick or slow, for obtaining that purpose could, in my opinion, be neglected or set aside.

All methods to settle people definitely somewhere should have recourse to, concurrently, I will mention first, infiltration and the use of every possible opportunity for individual settlement in old or new countries in Europe or elsewhere, in the United States or in Palestine, in the neutral countries or Europe or in the newer countries of South America. All administrative facilities should be continued as they have been in the past, sought for, and extended as far as possible. But I think we may recognize the fact that even all that would not be sufficient, and that finally all possibilities for the establishment of new settlements anywhere in the world on any scale, big or small

should be examined and studied and promoted as quickly as possible.

This method of new settlements commends itself for many reasons in addition to the one that has just been invoked. Its use will facilitate and enlarge continuation of infiltration in countries where otherwise fears of saturation might arise more quickly. It will facilitate also the continuation of the liberal attitude of the countries of temporary asylum. But above all,-- if I may here just touch an aspect which, in my eyes, is very important, above all, new settlements, if successful, and if made in accordance with sound economic principles, might, at a certain stage, be considered as one of the many elements which will be required at a certain time in order to reorganize again on a sounder basis the economic life of the world.

But of course the establishment of new settlers on any scale in any country must, to be successful, reflect a series of rules and principles arising out of numerous past experiences, be these experiences successful or unsuccessful.

It seems to me that good ideas might be found in the study of the relative or excellent successes achieved in several circumstances by the formulae of more or less autonomous territories.

The possibility of creating, for definite economic purposes, privileged international companies has already been

emphasized in several international meetings or conferences. The possibilities inherent in such privileged companies, so far as refugee settlements are concerned, should, in my opinion, be carefully examined and eventually utilized.

From modern developments in the technique of production, it seems to me that in the beginning new settlements should be established, not exclusively but principally upon agriculture on a subsistence basis. Immediately after that, at a very early date, small industries, especially related either to the immediate needs of the community and/or the use of agricultural products should be and could be envisaged. It should not be forgotten that the new methods of transportation for man and for power render possible the establishment of semi-urban agglomerations which can be made consistent with semi-agricultural life, under certain conditions of climate and soil.

But immediately comes to your mind the question of financing. If I have insisted so much upon the necessity of distinguishing between the two aspects of the problem, of relief and maintenance on the one hand, and permanent settlement on the other, it is because this distinction applies, in my opinion, duly to conclusions as far as financing is concerned.

In the first case, obviously, it is charity which must come to the top and the money must be brought in by strong

appeals to humanitarian and charitable purposes.

On the contrary, the question of permanent settlement should be considered, treated, and solved, at least to a very large extent, on an economic basis. I know some of the difficulties of such a proposal. I know that this opinion does not meet with unqualified approval; but it seems to me that it is both in the moral and material interests of the refugees as a whole that the approach to this part of the problem should be made, as far as possible, on an economic basis. This brings with it many conclusions. First, it means that the sums put at the disposal of the refugees for permanent settlement will not be given but loaned to them -- and here comes the very important problem of interest or no interest. On the other hand, it means that the formulae to be adopted for raising the money should be based upon the investment idea, at least to a limited or definite extent. There are precedents in history, but they do not apply exactly to our circumstances. So new formulae should be evolved. It would take some imagination and also especially the collaboration of prominent people in business life, but from the studies already made I have gathered the definite impression that most of the objections usually made against the approach of that problem could relatively easily and practically be met. It is not the time nor the place to go into any details, but from what I have heard and studied I would be very

surprised if satisfactory formulae could not be devised by practical business men.

Now the most important point is that rapidly a beginning of concrete realization is reached. It would not matter, in my opinion, if this beginning were very small, provided the direction chosen and the concept of the scheme are such that it might duly expand in accordance with circumstances, necessities and possibilities.

I have been very gratified in learning of the progress that has been made in some of the schemes under review: the Dominican Republic scheme in particular, and the Philippine scheme, but, generally speaking, it seems to me that to hasten practical achievements a few requirements should be desirable.

First, that a certain unity of action, or at least some centralization, in some form of the many private efforts that are being made, and sometimes so successfully made, should be obtained. Of course it lies in the scope of effort of the Coordinating Foundation.

Second, it seems to me that it should be necessary to the greatest possible extent, to utilize all the competencies which have in the past, even in the remote past, or in the last circumstances, affirmed or reaffirmed themselves in any way, so as to get together all the good will possible.

And finally, I think it will surprise nobody if I insist upon the desirability, and I should say the necessity, of the

leadership in these circumstances of the United States of America. The generous and successful initiatives taken by President Roosevelt in this matter; the fact that the war is requiring the best energies of all citizens in the big countries in Europe; the thought also that in all large humanitarian and economic problems the United States people have always taken the most important share, all these things point clearly, as I said, to the desirability and maybe the necessity of the United States taking not only the actual burden but also the eventual reward, either moral or material, of such a magnificent enterprise.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the Coordinating Foundation, of which I have accepted temporarily to direct the efforts, has, it seems to me, under the circumstances, as one of its primary duties, to help studying, centralizing, and realizing settlements of refugees in new places. The Foundation will have especially to find out whether and how the capital necessary to carry out such a huge enterprise can be raised. We have come to a point which might well prove to be a true crossroads. The few contacts I have had since my arrival here do not allow me to express any forecast as to the immediate possibility, but at least they have left me with a definite impression that there is here a will to come to broad achievements, and this seems to me enough to justify new and greater hopes, because,— and this will close these

few remarks,- I am fully convinced that, according to the proverb, "Where there is a will there is a way."

(Applause.)

Lord Winterton: Gentlemen, I should like to say on behalf of all of us, how fortunate we are to have associated, through his connection with the Foundation as President, so eminent a person as Mr. Van Zeeland.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I should like to associate our Government with the Chairman's observation in respect to Mr. Van Zeeland. I think that, in the character of our organization, representing as we do, as I constantly repeat, thirty-two governments in the present world unrest, with the cooperation of the Foundation which must represent a great body of opinion, not only opinion but the willingness or the ability to lend actual service to this cause, that we are vigilant and active, and contribute in a real way to the solution of the problems which are bound to arise in the very near future. So I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the full power and authority of the Intergovernmental Committee will be invoked under all circumstances in which they can be of use and service, because I believe that this question is one segment, one very important segment, in the unrest of the world of today.

Lord Winterton: Does any other delegate wish to speak

on Mr. van Zeeland's statement?

(No response.)

Lord Winterton: Then we will pass to the next business, which is the designation of a Secretary of the Committee.

When the Intergovernmental Conference took place we were fortunate in having, as our Secretary at that Conference, M. Jean Paul-Boncour of the French Foreign Office, and I might mention at the private dinner which was given to Mr. Taylor the other night I expressed my appreciation of M. Paul-Boncour's work. When that committee was constituted as a permanent body, following the Conference, Mr. Roger Maxins of the Foreign Office was designated Secretary, and he also did most valuable work for the committee. About Christmas of last year, owing to his removal to another department of the Foreign Office, of our Foreign, it was no longer possible for him to continue as Secretary, and consequently Mr. Reilly of the British Foreign Office was appointed Secretary, and he in turn had to resign the secretaryship at the outbreak of the present war, because his service is required in another department of the government in our country, and Mr. Warr of the British Foreign Office was appointed as acting secretary. It was, however, represented to us, through the United States Embassy in London to the Foreign Office, that it would be probably convenient, for the purpose of this Conference if Mr. Morris took Mr. Warr's

place as acting secretary.

Now the Secretary of the Committee is designated by the Chairman under our constitution after consultation with and agreement by two of the Vice-Chairmen, and although this Conference has no executive authority, which is vested in the whole Committee, it would seem to me to be a convenient occasion for designating a permanent Secretary instead of the acting secretary which we have at present. After consultation with and the approval of my colleagues of this Conference, the French Ambassador, and Mr. Myron Taylor, I designate Mr. Morris as the Secretary of our Committee. Mr. Morris has the advantage, which few of us around this table possess, with one or two exceptions, of being a young man who is already much interested in the work of the Committee, and I am sure he will fill this post which has been so admirably filled in the past, with equal facility and felicity. I have pleasure in designating Mr. Morris as Secretary.

(Applause.)

Lord Winterton: The next business is important also, and that is the designation of a Vice-Director to replace Mr. Joseph Harsh, resigned. Mr. Harsh was appointed Vice-Director for a term only. He gave valuable assistance to the Director in London, as Sir Herbert will tell you in a moment. He came originally on the understanding that his

services would be only required for a comparatively limited period, as he has other work to do. In fact we were allowed to make use of his services owing to permission given to him by a great newspaper which employs him, to leave the work of that newspaper for a short time in order to assist this Committee. The post is, therefore, at present vacant. I will ask Sir Herbert Emerson, if he will, to make some remarks on this matter.

Sir Herbert Emerson: I should like to associate myself with the remarks made by the Chairman regarding the services rendered by Mr. Harsch during the time he was Vice-Director. We had hoped to retain his services until April of next year, but it was a condition of the terms imposed by the newspaper, on which he is permanently employed, that if war broke out he should return to his post. When war began he had to leave the Committee, and I believe he is now busy reporting the events of the war.

I think it is very necessary to have a Vice-Director who will generally assist the Director and in his absence will be responsible for the executive action of the Committee. The suggestion has been made that in making that appointment it would be of value if someone was selected who was a national of one of the neutral countries of Europe, and I think myself, especially in view of the importance attaching to economic

investigations and inquiries, that in looking for such a man we should attempt to find one who had had practical training as an economist, and, if possible, some technical experience. At the moment I do not think we have anyone particularly in mind whom I could recommend to the Chairman for appointment, but if the suggestion commends itself to the officer I would, in looking for a suitable candidate bear these qualifications in mind and make corresponding recommendations to the Chairman.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I hope, in making the selection, you will not be governed by any consideration of economy, and I hope that you will select the most outstanding person that is available, because the service that he can render to Sir Herbert, to you, and to this Committee, is almost beyond imagination.

Lord Winterton: Speaking for myself, I should like to say that I personally would like to see some such appointment as the kind Sir Herbert suggested be made. I think it would be of great value, for many reasons, if we could have a national of one of the countries which he mentioned appointed.

The next business is the financial position of the Committee. I invite our Director to report certain facts in connection therewith.

Sir Herbert Emerson: There is very little to report since the full meeting of the Committee took place in the middle of July last. Certain arrears have been collected.

Canada has paid her arrears in full. A contribution has been received from the French Government and another also from Mexico. The expenses have been normal, and at the end of August, when the last balance sheet was returned by the bank, the Committee was in funds approximately to the sum of £2,400.

At the outbreak of war the expenditure was cut down to the minimum possible. The office of the Vice-Director remained temporarily in abeyance. Several of the employees were given notice that their services would no longer be required, and owing to the uncertainty about office conditions in London, and owing to the kindness of the Office of Works, we were able to get rid of the liability we then had for considerable office rent. It will be necessary to take some office accommodation in London, but on a smaller scale than previously, but at the moment, and taking into account the contribution which the Government of the United States makes, I do not think there is any anxiety for the future, for the immediate future at any rate, as the Committee is in sufficient funds to carry on without difficulty, at any rate for the next year.

Now, Your Excellencies, that concludes our business, unless any delegate has any other matter which he wishes to bring up. If not, I should like, as Chairman of the Conference, to ask my colleagues to pay some tribute, first,

to the President of the United States for his action in calling this Conference; secondly, to the State Department for all the arrangements that they have made for our comfort and convenience, and for their very material assistance towards what has been, I think, a useful and fruitful Conference.

I should like to say to their excellencies, the delegates, that it has been both an honor and pleasure to me to preside over our deliberations. Some of us have met in connection with the business of this Committee constantly in different places. We have sat around tables during our discussions in Évian, on several occasions in London, and now in the State Department; and others have been at the Conference in connection with the Committee for the first time. Some of us who have met here for the first time have had connections at other places. Perhaps I might mention the interesting fact that the French Ambassador, during the last war, visited a portion of the line in the battle on the plains of Gaza, visited a company in a battalion of which I was second in command, and spoke to a brother officer of mine who was killed shortly afterward, who had been a very great friend of mine and who was second in command of that particular company when I commanded it -- a rather interesting fact.

Well, I would like to say, in conclusion, that I hope we may all be associated in the future in this or some other work of value to humanity at large, because I think

we can say without conceit that all the nations represented around this table have made and can make a great contribution to that end.

Count de Saint-Quentin: I want to second the Chairman's remarks in expressing thanks to the President of the United States who once more takes leadership in a great and generous international cause that is so useful to our world and our civilization.

I also want to express my thanks to the State Department. The State Department, on every occasion, is very helpful and obliging, and now they have given us once more proof of it.

I want to thank Lord Winterston for his kind words in his reference to me, and for his recollections in regard to our previous meeting. It is true that I was near Gaza at the same time that he was there, and one of the great problems that confronted us was the Palestine refugee problem.

I remember the fact that I saw the second of the line where he was in command, and once more, on that day, I received a very hearty welcome from his second in command, and I also thank him for the cup of chocolate. It was very welcome, because it was very chilly in the plains of Gaza.

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I wish on behalf of your host, the Government of the United States and President Roosevelt, to thank you and the other delegates who are assembled here in respect to this very important question,

and I thank you for the interest you have taken and the skill that you have shown in the conduct of these proceedings.

Lord Winterton: We are much obliged to hear your very kind words, and for myself I feel, and I am sure Sir Herbert does, that our journey, possibly a somewhat hazardous journey across the Atlantic, was fully justified by the importance of the matters we have discussed here, and especially by the contacts which our eminent directors have been able to make with so many of the individuals and associations in this country in connection with the refugee problem.

If there is nothing further the Conference will adjourn.

(Whereupon, at the hour of 4 o'clock p.m., the Conference adjourned.)